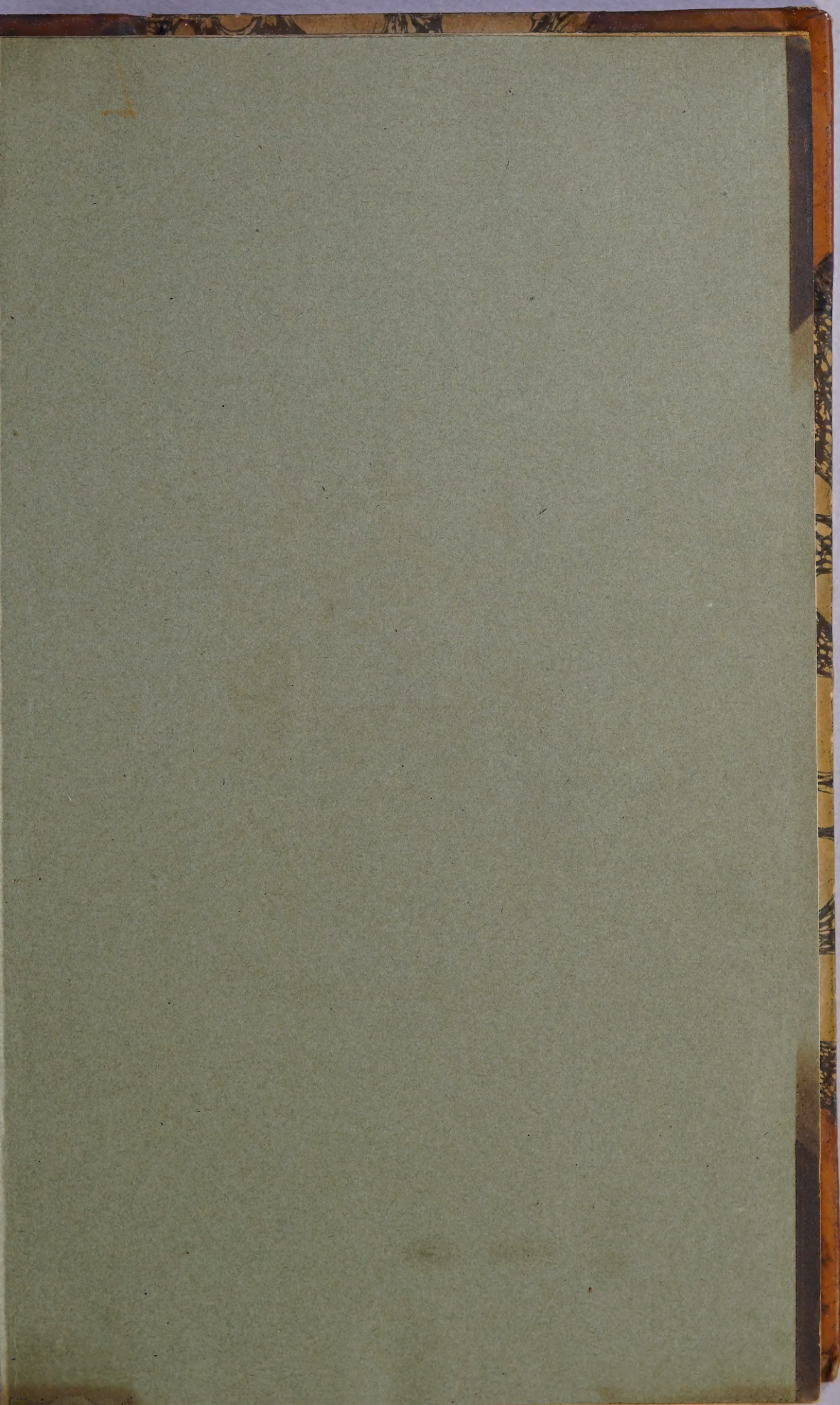
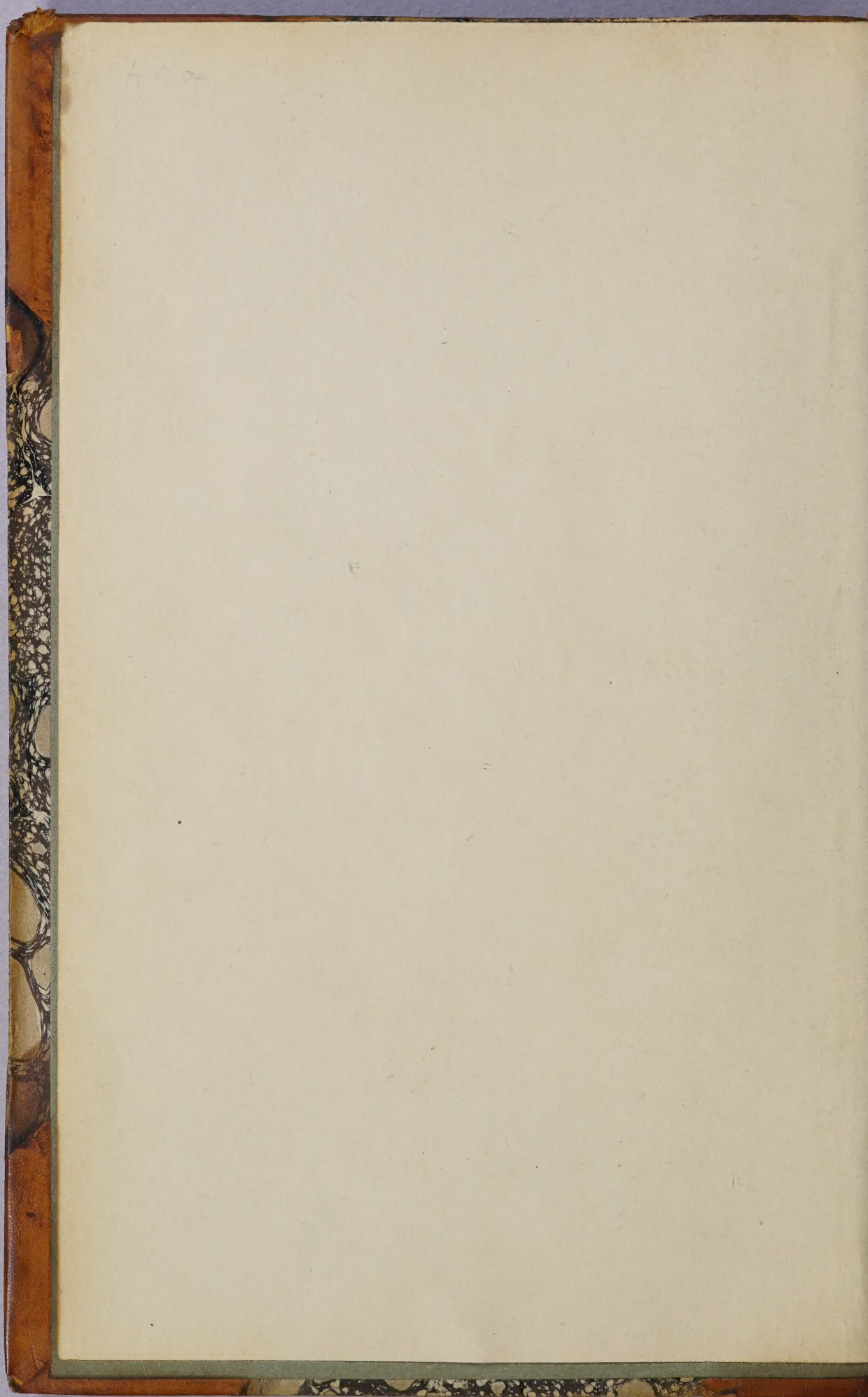
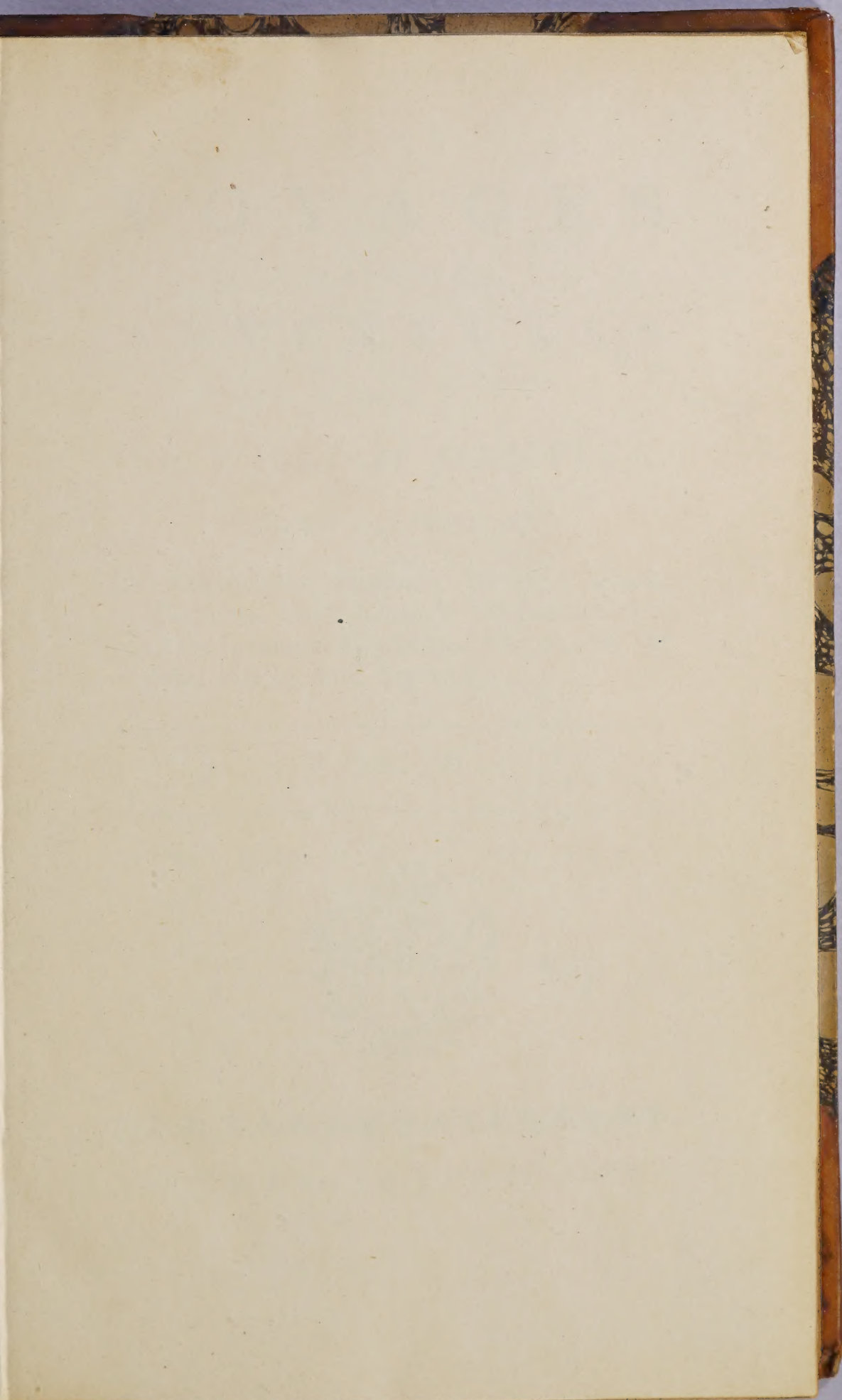
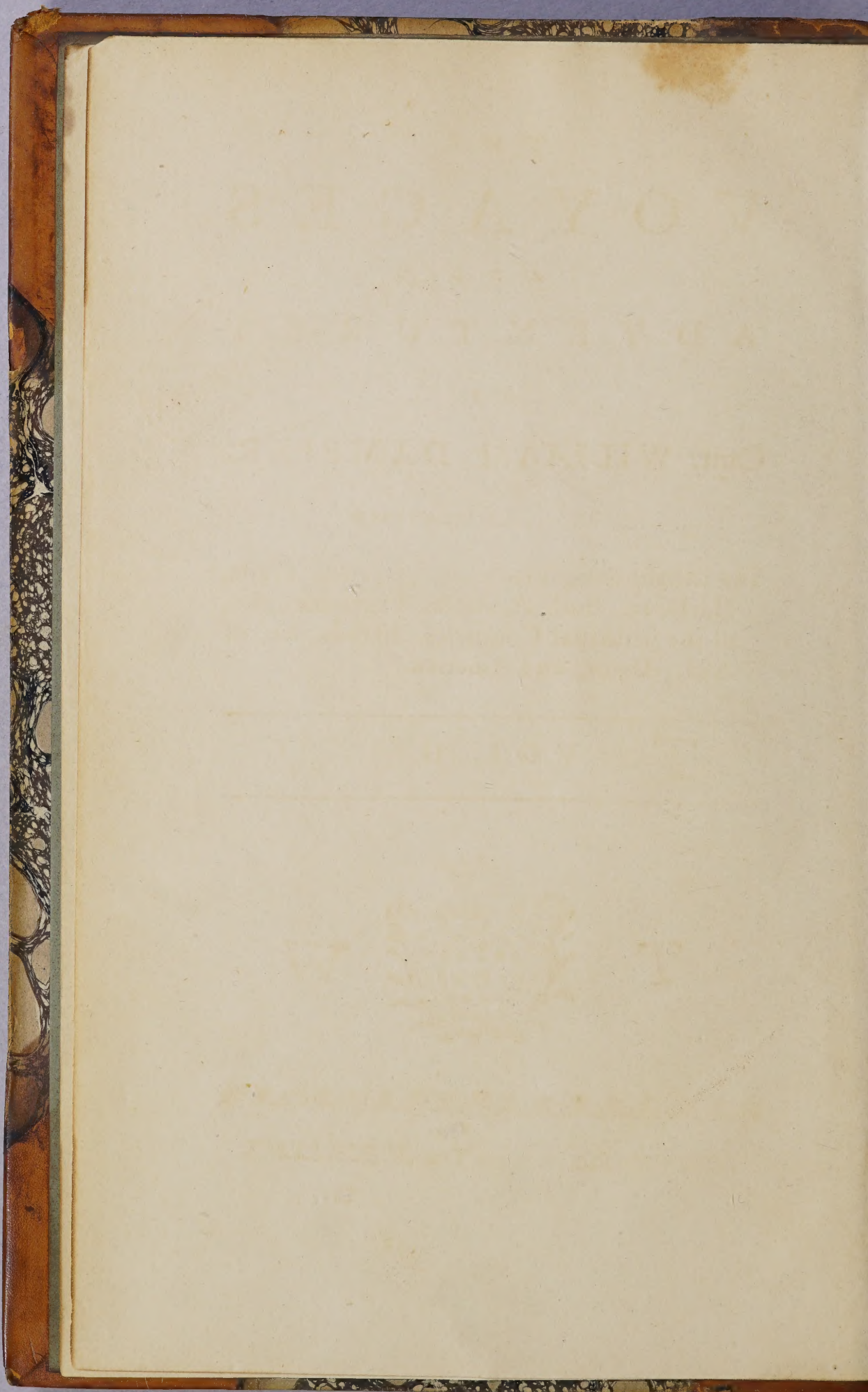


John Carter Brown.









T H E
V O Y A G E S

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O F

Capt. WILLIAM DAMPIER.

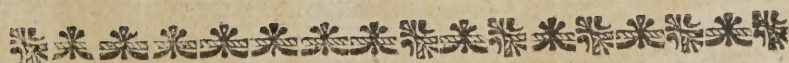
WHEREIN ARE DESCRIBED

The Inhabitants, Manners, Customs, Trade,
Harbours, Soil, Animals, Vegetables, &c.
of the principal Countries, Islands, &c. of
Asia, Africa, and America.

T V O L. II. W

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THE JOURNAL OF
M. D. A. M. T. H. R. V. OYAGE

ON A VOYAGE TO THE
NORTH PACIFIC OCEAN

IN THE YEAR 1841

BY

THE

UNITED STATES

NAVY

OFFICE

OF THE

NAVY

DEPARTMENT

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WASHINGTON

1842

RPJCB

Mr. DAMPIER's Voyages, &c.

C H A P. XIX.

Of the inhabitants, and civil state of the isle of Mindanao.

THIS island is not subject to one prince, neither is the language one and the same; but the people are much alike, in colour, strength, and stature. They are all or most of them of one religion which is Mahometism, and their customs, and manner of living are alike. The Mindanao people, more particularly so called, are the greatest nation in the island, and trading by sea with other nations, they are therefore the more civil. I shall say but little of the rest, being less known to me, but so much as hath come to my knowledge, take as follows. There are besides the Mindanayans, the Hilanoones (as they call them) or the Mountaineers, the Sologues and Alfoorees.

The Hilanoones live in the heart of the country; they have little or no commerce by sea, yet they have proes that row with twelve or fourteen oars a-piece. They enjoy the benefit of the gold mines, and with their gold buy foreign commodities of the

Mindanao people. They have also plenty of bees wax, which they exchange for other commodities.

The Sologues inhabit the north west end of the island. They are the least nation of all; they trade to Manila in proes, and to some of the neighbouring islands, but have no commerce with the Mindanao people.

The Alfoores are the same with the Mindanayans, and were formerly under the subjection of the sultan of Mindanao, but were divided between the sultan's children, and have of late had a sultan of their own; but having by marriage contracted an alliance with the sultan of Mindanar, this has occasioned that prince to claim them again as his subjects, and he made war with them a little after we went away, as I afterwards understood.

The Mindanayans properly so called, are men of mean statures; small limbs, straight bodies, and little heads. Their faces are oval, their foreheads flat, with black small eyes, short low noses, pretty large mouths; their lips thin and red, their teeth black, yet very sound, their hair black and straight, the colour of their skin tawney, but inclining to a brighter yellow than some other Indians, especially the women. They have a custom to wear their thumb-nails very long, especially that on their left thumb, for they never cut it but scrape it often. They are indued with good natural wits, are ingenious, nimble, and active, when they are minded, but generally very lazy and thievish, and will not work except forced by hunger. This laziness is natural to most Indians, but these people's laziness seems rather to proceed not so much from their natural inclinations, as from the severity of their prince of whom they stand in awe: for he dealing with them very arbitrarily, and taking from them what they get, this damps their industry, so they never strive

strive to have any thing but from hand to mouth. They are generally proud, and walk very stately. They are civil enough to strangers, and will easily be acquainted with them, and entertain them with great freedom ; but they are implacable to their enemies, and very revengeful if they are injured, frequently poisoning those secretly who have affronted them.

They wear but few cloaths ; their heads are circled with a short turbat, fringed or laced at both ends ; it goes once about the head, and is tied in a knot, the laced ends hanging down. They wear frocks and breeches, but no stockings nor shoes.

The women are fairer than the men, and their hair is black and long, which they tie in a knot, that hangs back in their poles. They are more round visaged than the men, and generally well featured, only their noses are very small, and so low between their eyes, that in some of the female children, the rising that should be between the eyes is scarce discernable, neither is there any sensible rising in their foreheads. At a distance they appear very well ; but being nigh, these impediments are very obvious. They have very small limbs : they wear but two garments, a frock and a sort of petticoat ; the petticoat is only a piece of cloth, sewed both ends together ; but it is made two feet too big for their waistes, so that they may wear either end uppermost ; that part that comes up to their waistes, because it is so much too big, they gather it in their hands, and twist it till it sits close to their waistes, tucking in the twisted part between their waiste and the edge of the petticoat, which keeps it close. The frock sits loose about them, and reaches down a little below the waiste. The sleeves are a great deal longer than their arms, and so small at the ends, that their hands will scarce go through.

Being

6 *The VOYAGES and ADVENTURES of*

Being on, the sleeve sits in folds about the wrist, wherein they take great pride.

The better sort of people have their garments made of long cloth, but the ordinary sort wear cloth made of plantain tree, which they call saggen, by which name they call the plantain. They have neither stocking nor shoe, and the women have very small feet.

The women are very desirous of the company of strangers, especially of white men; and doubtless would be very familiar, if the custom of the country did not debar them from that freedom, which seems coveted by them: yet from the highest to the lowest they are allowed liberty to converse with, or treat strangers in the sight of their husbands.

There is a kind of begging custom at Mindanao, that I have not met with elsewhere in all my travels, and which I believe is owing to the little trade they have, which is thus; when strangers arrive here, the Mindanao men will come on board, and invite them to their houses, and enquire who has a comrade (which word I believe they have from the Spaniards) or a pagally, and who has not. A comrade is a familiar male friend; a pagally is an innocent platonick friend of the other sex. All strangers are in a manner obliged to accept of this acquaintance and familiarity, which must be first purchased with a small present, and afterwards confirmed with some gift or other to continue the acquaintance; and as often as the stranger goes ashore, he is welcome to his comrade or pagally's house, where he may be entertained for his money, to eat, drink, or sleep; and complimented as often as he comes ashore, with tobacco and betel-nut, which is all the entertainment he must expect gratis. The rich mens wives are allowed the freedom to converse with their pagally in publick, and may give or receive presents

presents from them. Even the sultans and general wives, who are always coop'd up, will yet look out of their cages when a stranger passes by, and demand of him if he wants a pagally; and to invite him to their friendship, will send a present of tobacco and betel-nut to him by their servants.

The chief city on this island is called by the same name of Mindanao. It is seated on the south side of the island, in lat. 7 d. 20 m. N. on the banks of a small river, about two miles from the sea. The manner of building is somewhat strange; yet generally used in this part of the East Indies. Their houses are all built on posts, about fourteen, sixteen, eighteen, or twenty feet high. These posts are bigger or less, according to the intended magnificence of the superstructure. They have but one floor, but many partitions or rooms, and a ladder or stairs to go up out of the streets. The roof is large, and covered with palmeto or palm-leaves. So there is a clear passage like a piazza (but a filthy one) under the house. Some of the poorer people that keep ducks or hens, have a fence made round the posts of their houses, with a door to go in and out; and this under room serves for no other use. Some use this place for the common draught of their houses, for building mostly close by the river in all parts of the Indies, they make the river receive all the filth of their house; and at the time of the land floods, all is washed very clean.

The sultans house is much bigger than any of the rest. It stands on about one hundred and eighty great posts or trees, a great deal higher than the common building, with great broad stairs made to go up. In the first room he hath about twenty iron guns, all saker and minion, placed on field carriages. The general, and other great men have some guns also in their houses. About twenty paces
from

from the sultans house there is a small low house, built purposely for the reception of ambassadors or merchant strangers. This also stands on posts, but the floor is not raised above three or four feet from the ground, and is neatly matted purposely for the sultan and his council to sit on, for they use no chairs, but sit cross-legg'd like taylors on the floor.

The common food at Mindanao is rice, or fago, and a small fish or two. The better sort eat buffalo, or fowls ill dress'd, and abundance of rice with it. They use no spoons to eat their rice, but every man takes a handful out of the platter, and by wetting his hand in water, that it may not stick to his hand, squeezes it into a lump, as hard as possibly he can make it, and then crams it into his mouth. They all strive to make these lumps as big as their mouths can receive them, and seem to vie with each other, and glory in taking in the biggest lump, so that sometimes they almost choak themselves. They always wash after meals, or if they touch any thing that is unclean, for which reason they spend abundance of water in their houses. This water with the washing of their dishes, and what other filth they make, they pour down near their fire-place; for their chambers are not boarded, but floored with split bamboos, like laths, so that the water presently falls underneath their dwelling rooms, where it breeds maggots, and makes a prodigious stink. Besides this filthiness, the sick people ease themselves and make water in their chambers, there being a small hole made purposely in the floor, to let it drop through. But healthy sound people commonly ease themselves and make water in the river. For that reason you shall always see abundance of people, of both sexes, in the river, from morning till night, some easing themselves, others washing their bodies or cloths. If they come
into

into the river purposely to wash their cloths, they strip and stand naked till they have done, then put them on, and march out again: both men and women take great delight in swimming, and washing themselves, being bred to it from their infancy. I do believe it is very wholesome to wash mornings and evenings in these hot countries, at least three or four days in the week; for I used myself to it when I lived afterwards at Bencooly, and found it very refreshing and comfortable. It is very good for those that have fluxes to wash and stand in the river mornings and evenings. I speak it experimentally, for I was brought very low with that distemper at Achin, but by washing constantly morning and evening, I found great benefit, and was quickly cured by it.

In the city of Mindanao they speak two languages indifferently; their own Mindanao language, and the Malaya; but in other parts of the island they speak only their proper language, having little commerce abroad. They have schools, and instruct the children to read and write, and bring them up in the Mahometan religion. Therefore many of the words, especially their prayers, are in Arabick, and many of the words of civility the same as in Turkey, and especially when they meet in the morning, or take leave of each other, they express themselves in that language.

Many of the old people, both men and women, can speak Spanish, for the Spaniards were formerly settled among them, and had several forts on this island; and then they sent two friars to the city, to convert the sultan of Mindanao and his people. At that time these people began to learn Spanish, and the Spaniards encroached on them, and endeavoured to bring them into subjection, and probably before this time had brought them all under their

yoke, if they themselves had not been drawn off from this island to Manila, to resist the Chinese, who threatened to invade them there. When the Spaniards were gone, the old sultan of Mindanao, father to the present, in whose time it was, razed and demolished their forts, brought away their guns, and sent away the friers; and since that time will not suffer the Spaniards to settle on the islands.

They are now most afraid of the Dutch, being sensible how they have enslaved many of the neighbouring islands. For that reason they have a long time desired the English to settle among them, and have offered them any convenient place to build a fort in, as the general himself told us, giving this reason, that they do not find the English so in-croaching as the Dutch or Spanish. The Dutch are no less jealous of their admitting the English, for they are sensible what detriment it would be to them if the English should settle here.

There are but few tradesmen at the city of Mindanao. The chief trades are goldsmiths, blacksmiths, and carpenters. There are but two or three goldsmiths, these will work in gold or silver, and make any thing that you desire; but they have no shop furnished with ware ready made for sale. Here are several blacksmiths who work very well, considering the tools that they work with. Their bellows are much different from ours. They are made of a wooden cylinder, the trunk of a tree, about three feet long, bored hollow like a pump, and set upright on the ground, on which the fire itself is made. Near the lower end there is a small hole, in the side of the trunk next the fire, made to receive a pipe, thro' which the wind is driven to the fire by a great bunch of fine feathers fastned to one end of the stick, which closing up the inside of the cylinder, drives

drives the air out of the cylinder through the pipe : two of these trunks or cylinders are placed so nigh together, that a man standing between them may work them both at once alternately, one with each hand. They have neither vice nor anvil, but a great hard stone or a piece of an old gun, to hammer upon : yet they will perform their work, making both common utensils and iron-works about ships to admiration. They work altogether with charcoal. Every man almost is a carpenter, for they can work with the ax and ads. Their ax is but small, and so made that they can take it out of the helve, and by turning it make an ads of it. They have no saws ; but when they make plank, they split the tree in two, and make a plank of each part, planing it with ax and ads. This requires much pains, and takes up a great deal of time, but they work cheap, and the goodness of the plank thus hewed, which hath its grain preserved entire, makes amends for their cost and pains.

They build good and serviceable ships or barks for the sea, some for trade, others for pleasure ; and some ships of war. Their trading vessels they send chiefly to Manila. Thither they transport bees-wax, which, I think, is the only commodity, besides gold that they vend there. The inhabitants of the city of Mindanao get a great deal of bees-wax themselves : but the greatest quantity they purchase is of the mountaineers, from whom they also get the gold which they send to Manila, and with these they buy their calicoes, muslins, and China silk. They send sometimes their barks to Borneo and other islands ; but what they transport thither, or import from thence, I know not. The Dutch come hither in sloops from Ternate and Tidore, and buy rice, bees-wax, and tobacco : for here is a great deal of tobacco grows on this island,

more than in any island or country in the East Indies, that I know of, Manila only excepted. It is an excellent sort of tobacco; but these people have not the art of managing this trade to their best advantage, as the Spaniards have at Manila. I do believe the seeds were first brought hither from Manila by the Spaniards, and even thither, in all probability, from America; the difference between the Mindanao and Manila tobacco is, that the Mindanao tobacco, is of a darker colour, and the leaf larger and grosser than the Manila tobacco, being propagated or planted in a fatter soil. The Manila tobacco is of a bright yellow colour, of an indifferent size, not strong, but pleasant to smoke. The Spaniards at Manila are very curious about this tobacco, having a peculiar way of making it up neatly in the leaf. For they take two little flat sticks, each about a foot long, and placing the stalks of the tobacco leaves in a row, forty or fifty of them between the two sticks, they bind them hard together, so that the leaves hang dangling down. One of these bundles is sold for a rial at fort St. George; but you may have ten or twelve pounds of tobacco at Mindanao for a rial, and the tobacco is as good, or rather better than the Manila tobacco but they have not that vent for it as the Spaniards have.

The Mindanao people are much troubled with a sort of leprosy, the same as we observed at Guam. This distemper runs with a dry scurf all over their bodies, and causes great itching in those that have it, making them frequently scratch and scrub themselves, which raises the outer skin in small whitish flakes, like the scales of little fish, when they are raised on end with a knife. This makes their skin extraordinary rough, and in some you shall see broad white spots in several part of their body. I judge

judge such have had it, but are cured, for their skins were smooth, and I did not perceive them to scrub themselves; yet I have learned from their own mouths that these spots were from this distemper. Whether they use any means to cure themselves, or whether it goes away of itself, I know not; but I did not perceive that they made any great matter of it, for they never refrained any company for it; none of our people caught it of them, for we were afraid of it, and kept off. They are sometimes troubled with the small pox, but their ordinary distempers are fevers, agues, fluxes, with great pains, and gripings in their guts. The country affords a great many drugs and medicinal herbs, whose virtues are not unknown to some of them that pretend to cure the sick.

The Mindanao men have many wives; but what ceremonies are used when they marry, I know not. There is commonly a great feast made by the bridegroom to entertain his friends, and the most part of the night is spent in mirth.

The sultan is absolute in his power over all his subjects. He is but a poor prince, for as I mentioned before, they have but little trade, and therefore cannot be rich. If the sultan understands that any man has money, if it be but twenty dollars, which is a great matter among them, he will send to borrow so much money, pretending urgent occasions for it; and they dare not deny him. Sometimes he will send to sell one thing or another that he hath to dispose of, to such whom he knows to have money, and they must buy it, and give him his price; and if afterwards he hath occasion for the same thing, he must have it if he sends for it. He is but a little man, between fifty and sixty years old, and by relation very good natured, but overruled by those about him. He has a queen, and

keeps about twenty women, or wives more, in whose company he spends most of his time. He has one daughter by his sultaneſs or queen, and a great many ſons and daughters by the reſt. Theſe walk about the ſtreets, and would be always begging things of us; but it is reported, that the young princeſs is kept in a room, and never ſtirs out, and that ſhe never ſaw any man but her father and Raja Laut her uncle, being then about fourteen years old.

When the ſultan viſits his friends he is carried in a ſmall couch on four mens ſhoulders, with eight or ten armed men to guard him; but he never goes far this way, for the country is very woody, and they have but little paths, which renders it the leſs commodious. When he takes his pleaſure by water, he carries ſome of his wives along with him. The proes that are built for this purpoſe, are large enough to entertain fifty or ſixty perſons, or more. The hull is neatly built, with a round head and ſtern, and over the hull there is a ſmall ſlight houſe built with bamboes; the ſides are made up with ſplit bamboos about four feet high, with little windows in them of the ſame, to open and ſhut at pleaſure. The roof is almoſt flat, neatly thatched with palmeto leaves. This houſe is divided into two or three ſmall partitions or chambers, one particularly for himſelf. This is neatly matted underneath, and round the ſides; and there is a carpet and pillows for him to ſleep on. The ſecond room is for his women, much like the former. The third is for the ſervants, who tend them with tobacco and betel-nut, for they are always chewing or ſmoaking. The fore and after parts of the veſſel are for the mariners to ſit and row. Beſides this, they have outlayers, ſuch as thoſe I deſcribed at Guam; only the boats and outlayers here are larger.

larger. These boats are more round, like the half moon almost; and the bamboes or outlayers that reach from the boat are also crooked. Besides the boat is not flat on one side here as at Guam, but hath a belly and outlayers on each side; whereas at Guam there is a little boat fastened to the outlayers, that lies in the water; the beams or bamboes here are fastened traversewise to the outlayers on each side, and touch not the water like boats, but one, three, or four feet above the water, and serve for the bargemen to sit and row and paddle on; the inside of the vessel, except only just fore and abaft, being taken up with the apartments for the passengers. There runs across the outlayers two tier of beams for the paddlers to sit on, on each side the vessel. The lower tier of these beams is not above a foot from the water; so that upon any the least heeling of the vessel, the beams are dip'd in the water, and the men that sit are wet up to their waiste; their feet seldom escaping the water: and thus, as all our vessels are rowed from within, these are paddled from without.

The sultan hath a brother called Raja Laut, a brave man. He is the second man in the kingdom. All strangers that come hither to trade must make their address to him, for all sea affairs belong to him. He licences strangers to import or export any commodity, and it is by his permission that the natives themselves are suffered to trade; nay the very fishermen must take a permit from him; so that there is no man can come into the river or go out but by his leave. He is two or three years younger than the sultan, and a little man like him. He has eight women, by some of whom he hath issue. He hath only one son, about twelve or fourteen years old, who was circumcised while we were there. His eldest son died a little before we came
hither,

hither, for whom he was still in great heaviness. If he had lived a little longer he should have married the young princess, but whether this second son must have her I know not, for I never heard any discourse about it. Raja Laut is a very sharp man, he speaks and writes Spanish, which he learned in his youth. He has by often conversing with strangers, got a great insight into the customs of other nations, and by Spanish books has some knowledge of Europe. He is general of the Mindanayans, and is accounted an expert soldier and a very stout man, and the women in their dances, sing many songs in his praise.

The sultan of Mindanao sometimes makes war with his neighbours the Mountaneers or Alfoores; their weapons are swords, lances and some hand creffets. The creffet is a small thing like a bayonet, which they always wear in war or peace, at work or play, from the greatest of them to the poorest, or the meanest persons. They never meet each other so as to have a pitch'd battle, but they build small works or forts of timber, wherein they plant little guns, and lie in sight of each other two or three months, skirmishing every day in small parties, and sometimes surprizing a breast-work; and whatever side is like to be worsted, if they have no probability to escape by flight, they sell their lives as dear as they can, for their is seldom any quarter given, but the conqueror cuts and hacks his enemies to pieces.

The religion of these people is Mahometanism: Friday is their sabbath, but I never saw any difference that they make between this day and another, only the sultan himself goes then to the mosque twice. Raja Laut never goes to the mosque, but prays at certain hours, eight or ten times in a day; where ever he is, he is very punctual to his canonical

cal hours, and if he be on board will go ashore on purpose to pray. For no business nor company hinders him from this duty. Whether he is at home or abroad, in a house or in the field, he leaves all his company, and goes about one hundred yards off, and there kneels down to his devotion. He first kisses the ground, then prays aloud, and divers times in his prayers he kisses the ground, and does the same when he leaves off. His servants, and his wives and children talk and sing, or play how they please all the time, but himself is very serious. The meaner sort of people have little devotion: I never saw any of them at their prayers, or go into a mosque.

In the sultan's mosque there is a great drum with but one head, called a gong, which is instead of a clock. This gong is beaten at twelve, three, six, and nine, o'clock, by a man appointed for that service. He has a stick as big as a man's arm, with a great knob at the end, bigger than a man's fist, made with cotton, bound fast with small cords, with this he strikes the gong as hard as he can, about twenty strokes; beginning to strike leisurely the first five or six strokes, then he strikes faster, and at last strikes as fast as he can; and then he strikes again slower and slower so many more strokes; thus he rises and falls three times, and then leaves off till three hours after: this is done night and day.

They circumcise the males at eleven or twelve years of age, or older; and many are circumcised at once. This ceremony is performed with a great deal of solemnity. There had been no circumcision for some years before our being here, and then there was one for Raja Laut's son. They chuse to have a general circumcision when the sultan, or general, or some other great person hath a son fit to be circumcised; for with him a great many more are circumcised

circumcised. There is notice given about eight or ten days before for all men to appear in arms, and great preparation is made against the solemn day. In the morning before the boys are circumcised, presents are sent to the father of the child, that keeps the feast; which, as I said before, is either the sultan, or some great person; and about ten or eleven o'clock the Mahometan priest does his office. He takes hold of the fore skin with two sticks, and with a pair of scizzars snips it off. After this most of the men, both in city and country being in arms before the house, begin to act as if they were engaged with an enemy, having such arms as I described. Only one acts at a time, the rest make a great ring of two or three hundred yards round about him. He that is to exercise, comes into the ring with a great shriek or two, and a horrid look, then he fetches two or three large stately strides, and falls to work. He holds his broad sword in one hand, and his lance in the other, and traverses his ground, leaping from one side of the ring to the other, and in a menacing posture and look, bids defiance to the enemy, whom his fancy frames to him; for there is nothing but air to oppose him. Then he stamps and shakes his head, and grinning with his teeth, makes many rueful faces. Then he throws his lance, and nimbly snatches out his cresset, with which he hacks and hews the air like a madman, often shrieking. At last, being almost tired with motion, he flies to the middle of the ring, where he seems to have his enemy at his mercy; and with two or three blows cuts on the ground as if he was cutting off his enemies head. By this time he is all of a sweat, and withdraws triumphantly out of the ring, and presently another enters with the like shrieks and gesture. Thus they continue combating their imaginary enemy all the rest of

of the day ; towards the conclusion of which the richest men act, and at last the general, and then the sultan concludes this ceremony : he and the general with some other great men, are in armour, but the rest have none. After this the sultan returns home, accompanied with abundance of people, who wait on him there till they are dismissed. But at the time when we were there, there was an after-game to be played, for the general's son being then circumcised, the sultan intended to give him a second visit in the night ; so they all waited to attend him thither. The general also provided to meet him in the best manner, and therefore desired captain Swan with his men to attend him. Accordingly captain Swan ordered us to get our guns, and wait at the general's house till further orders. So about forty of us waited till eight o'clock in the evening : when the general with captain Swan, and about one thousand men, went to meet the sultan, with abundance of torches, that made it as light as day. The manner of the march was thus : first of all there was a pageant, and upon it two dancing women gorgeously apparelled, with coronets on their heads, full of glittering spangles, and pendants of the same, hanging down over their breast and shoulders. These are women bred up purposely for dancing : their feet and legs are but little employed, except sometimes to turn round very gently ; but their hand, arm, head, and body, are in continual motion, especially their arms, which they turn and twist so strangely, that you would think them to be made without bones. Besides the two dancing women, there were two old women in the pageant, holding each a lighted torch in their hands, close by the two dancing women, by which light the glittering spangles appeared very gloriously. This pageant was carried by six lusty men :
then

then came six or seven torches, lighting the general and captain Swan, who marched side by side next, and we that attended captain Swan, followed close after, marching in order six and six abreast, with each man his gun on his shoulder, and torches on each side. After us came twelve of the generals men with old Spanish matchlocks, marching four in a row. After them about forty lances, and behind them as many with great swords, marching all in order. After them came abundance only with creffets by their sides, who marched up close without any order. When we came near the sultan's house, the sultan and his men met us, and we wheeled off to let them pass. The sultan had three pageants went before him: in the first pageant were four of his sons, who were about ten or eleven years old. They had gotten abundance of small stones, which they roguishly threw about on the peoples heads. In the next were four young maidens, nieces to the sultan, being his sister's daughters; and in the third, there were three of the sultan's children, not above six years old. The sultan himself followed next, being carried, in his couch, which was not like the Indian Palankins, but open, and very little and ordinary. A multitude of people came after,, without any order: but as soon as he was past by, the general, and captain Swan, and all our men, closed in just behind the sultan, and so all marched together to the general's house. We came thither between ten and eleven o'clock, where the greatest part of the company were immediately dismissed; but the sultan, his children, his nieces, and some other persons of quality, entered the general's house. They were met at the head of the stairs by the general's women, who with a great deal of respect conducted them into the house. Captain Swan, and we that were with him followed

ed after. It was not long before the general caused his dancing women to enter the room, and divert the company with that pastime. I had forgot to tell you that they have none but vocal music here, by what I could learn, except only a row of a kind of bells without clappers, sixteen in number, and their weight increas[ing] gradually from about three to ten pound weight. These were set in a row on a table in the general's house, where for seven or eight days together, before the circumcision day, they were struck each with a little stick, for the greatest part of the day making a great noise, but they ceased that morning. So these dancing women sung themselves, and danced to their own music. After this the general's women, and the sultan's sons, and his nieces danced. Two of the sultan's nieces were about eighteen or nineteen years old, the other two were three or four years younger. These young ladies were very richly dressed, with loose garments of silk, and small coronets on their heads. They were much fairer than any women that I ever saw there, and very well featured; their noses, though but small, were higher than the other women, and very well proportioned. When the ladies had very well diverted themselves and the company with dancing, the general caused us to fire some sky-rockets, that were made by his and captain Swan's order, purposely for this night's solemnity, and after that the sultan and his retinue went away with a few attendants, and we all broke up; and thus ended this day's solemnity: but the boys being fore with their amputation, went straddling for a fortnight after.

They are not, as I said before, very curious, or strict in observing any days, or times of particular devotions, except it be the ramdan time, as we call it. The ramdan time was then in August, as I
take

take it, for it was shortly after our arrival here. In this time they fast all day, and about seven o'clock in the evening they spend near an hour in prayer. Towards the latter end of their prayer, they loudly invoke their prophet, for about a quarter of an hour, both old and young bawling out very strangely, as if they intended to fright him out of his sleepiness or neglect of them. After their prayer is ended, they spend some time in feasting before they take their repose. Thus they do every day for a whole month at least; for sometimes it is two or three days longer before the ramdan ends; for it begins at the new moon, and lasts till they see the next new moon, which sometimes in thick hazy weather, is not till three or four days after the change, as it happened while I was at Achin, where they continued the ramdan till the new moon's appearance. The next day after they have seen the new moon, the guns are all discharged about noon, and then the time ends.

A main part of their religion consists in washing often, to keep themselves from being defiled; or after they are defiled to cleanse themselves again. They also take great care to keep themselves from being polluted, by tasting or touching any thing that is accounted unclean; therefore swines flesh is very abominable to them; nay, any one that hath either tasted of swines flesh, or touched those creatures, is not permitted to come into their houses for many days after; and there is nothing will scare them more than a swine. Yet there are wild hogs in the islands, and those so plentiful, that they will come in troops out of the woods in the night into the very city, and under their houses, to rummage up and down the filth that they find there. The natives therefore would even desire us to lie in wait for the hogs, to destroy them, which we did frequently

quently, by shooting them and carrying them presently on board, but were prohibited their houses afterwards.

And now I am on this subject, I cannot omit a story concerning the general. He once desired to have a pair of shoes made after the English fashion, though he very seldom wore any: so one of our men made him a pair, which the general liked very well. Afterwards some body told him, that the thread wherewith the shoes were sewed, were pointed with hogs bristles. This put him into a great passion so he sent the shoes to the man that made them, and sent him withal more leather to make another pair, with threads pointed with some other hair, which was immediately done, and then he was well pleased.

CHAP. XX.

Their coasting along the isle of Mindanao, from a bay on the east side, to another at the south east end; with other occurrences during their stay at Mindanao.

HAVING in the two last chapters given some account of the natural, civil and religious state of Mindanao, I shall now go on with the prosecution of our affairs during our stay there.

It was in a bay on the north east side of the island that we came to an anchor, as hath been said. We lay in this bay but one night, and part of the next day; yet there we got speech with some of the native, who by signs made us to understand, that the city Mindanao was on the west side of the island. We endeavoured to persuade one of them to go with us to be our pilot, but he would not: therefore in the afternoon we loosed from thence, steering again to the south east, having the wind at S.W.

When

When we came to the S. E. end of the island Mindanao, we saw two small islands about three leagues distant from it. We might have passed between them and the main island, as we learn'd since, but not knowing them, or what dangers we might encounter there, we chose rather to sail to the eastward of them. But meeting very strong westerly winds, we got nothing forward in many days. In this time we first saw the islands Meangis, which are about sixteen leagues distant from Mindanao, bearing S. E. I shall have occasion to speak more of them hereafter.

The fourth day of July we got into a deep bay, four leagues north west from the two small islands before mentioned. But the night before, in a violent tornado, our bark being unable to beat any longer, bore away, which put us in some pain for fear she was overset, as we had like to have been ourselves. We anchored on the south west side of the bay, in fifteen fathom water, about a cables length from the shore. Here we were forced to shelter ourselves from the violence of the weather, which was so boisterous with rains, tornadoes and a strong westerly wind, that we were very glad to find this place to anchor in, being the only shelter on this side from the west winds.

This bay is not above two miles wide at the mouth, but farther in it is three leagues wide, and seven leagues deep, running in N. N. W. There is a good depth of water about four or five leagues in, but rocky foul ground for about two leagues from the mouth on both sides of the bay, except only in that place where we lay. About three leagues from the mouth, on the eastern side, there are fair sandy bays, and good anchoring in four five and six fathom. The land on the east side is high, mountainous and woody, yet very well watered

tered with small brooks; and there is one river large enough for canoes to enter. On the west side of the bay, the land is of a mean height with a large savannah, bordering on the sea, and stretching from the mouth of the bay, a great way to the westward.

This savannah abounds with long grass, and is plentifully stock'd with deer. The adjacent woods are a covert for them in the heat of the day; but mornings and evenings they feed in the open plains, as thick as in our parks in England. I never saw any where such plenty of wild deer, though I have met with them in several parts of America, both in the north and south seas.

The deer live here pretty peaceably and unmolested, for there are no inhabitants on that side of the bay. We visited this savannah every morning, and killed as many deer as we pleased, sometimes sixteen or eighteen in a day; and eat nothing but venison all the time we staid here.

We saw a great many plantations by the sides of the mountains, on the east side of the bay, and went to one of them, in hopes to learn of the inhabitants whereabouts the city was, that we might not overfall it in the night, but they fled from us.

We lay here till the 12th day before the winds abated of their fury, and then sailed from hence directing our course to the westward. In the morning we had a land wind at north. At eleven o'clock the sea breeze came at west, just in our teeth, but being fair weather, we kept on our way, turning and taking the advantage of the land breezes by night and the sea breezes by day.

Being now past the south east part of the island, we coasted down on the south side, and saw abundance of canoes fishing, and now and then a small village; neither were these inhabitants afraid of us, as the former, but came on board, yet we could

not understand them, nor they us, but by signs : and when we mentioned the word Mindanao, they would point towards it.

The eighteenth day of July we arrived before the river of Mindanao ; the mouth of which lies in lat. 6 deg. 22. min. N. and is laid in 231 deg. 12 min. longitude west, from the Lizard in England. We anchored right against the river in fifteen fathom water, clear hard sand ; about two miles from the shore, and three or four miles from a small island, that lay without us to the southward. We fired seven or nine guns, I remember not well which, and were answered again with three from the shore, for which we gave one again. Immediately after our coming to an anchor, Raja Laut, and one of the sultan's sons came off in a canoe, being rowed with ten oars, and demanded in Spanish what we were, and from whence we came ; Mr. Smith, he who was taken prisoner at Leon in Mexico, answered in the same language, that we were English, and that we had been a great while out of England. They told us that we were welcome, and asked us a great many questions about England, especially concerning our East India merchants, and whether we were sent by them to settle a factory here ; Mr. Smith told them that we came hither only to buy provision. They seemed a little disconcerted when they understood that we were not come to settle among them ; for they had heard of our arrival on the east side of the island, a great while before, and entertained hopes that we were sent purposely out of England hither to settle a trade with them, which it should seem they are very desirous of. For captain Goodlud had been here not long before to treat with them about it ; and when he went away told them, as they said, that in a short time they might expect an ambassador from England, to make a full bargain with them. Indeed

Indeed upon mature thoughts, I should think we could not have done better, than to have complied with the desire they seemed to have of our settling here, and to have taken up our quarters among them. For as thereby we might better have consulted our own profit and satisfaction, than by the other loose roving way of life; so it might probably have proved of public benefit to our nation, and been a means of introducing an English settlement and trade, not only here, but through several of the spice-islands, which lie in its neighbourhood.

For the islands Meangis, which I mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, lie within twenty leagues of Mindanao. These are three small islands that abound with gold and cloves, if I may credit my author Prince Jeoly, who was born on one of them, and was at that time a slave in the city of Mindanao. He might have been purchased by us of his master for a small matter, as he was afterwards by Mr. Moody, (who came hither to trade, and loaded a ship with clove-bark) and by transporting him home to his own country, we might have gotten a trade there. But of Prince Jeoly I shall speak more hereafter. These islands are as yet probably unknown to the Dutch, who as I said before, endeavour to ingross all the spice into their own hands.

There was another opportunity offered us here of settling on another spice-island that was very well inhabited; for the inhabitants fearing the Dutch, and understanding that the English were settling at Mindanao, their sultan sent his nephew to Mindanao while we were there to invite us thither: captain Swan conferred with him about it divers times, and I do believe he had some inclination to accept the offer, and I am sure most of the men were for it; but this never came to a head, for

want of a true understanding between captain Swan and his men, as may be declared hereafter.

Besides the benefit which might accrue from this trade with Meangis, and other the spice islands, the Philippine islands themselves, by a little care and industry, might have afforded us a very beneficial trade, and all these trades might have been managed from Mindanao, by settling there first. For that island lies very convenient for trading either to the spice-islands, or the rest of the Philippine islands; since as its soil is much of the same nature with either of them, so it lies as it were in the center of the gold and spice trade in these parts: the islands north of Mindanao abounding most in gold, and those south of Meangis in spice.

As the island Mindanao lies very convenient for trade, so considering its distance, the way thither may not be over-long and tiresome. The course that I would chuse, should be to set out of England about the latter end of August, and to pass round Terra del Fuego, and so stretching over towards New Holland, coast it along that shore till I came near to Mindanao; or first I would coast down near the American shore, as far as I found convenient, and then direct my course accordingly for the island. By this I should avoid coming near any of the Dutch settlements, and be sure to meet always with a constant brisk easterly trade wind, after I was once past Terra del Fuego. Whereas in passing about the cape of Good Hope, after you are shot over the East Indian ocean, and are come to the islands, you must pass through the streights of Malacca or Sundy, or else some other streights east from Java, where you will be sure to meet with country-winds, go on which side of the equator you please; and this would require ordinarily seven or eight months for the voyage, but the other I should
hope

hope to perform in six or seven at most. In your return from thence, also, you must observe the same rule as the Spaniards do in going from Manila to Acapulco, only as they run towards the north pole for variable winds, so you must run to the southward, till you meet with a wind that will carry you over to Terra del Fuego. There are places enough to touch at for refreshment, either going or coming. You may touch going thither on either side of Terra Patagonica, or, if you please, at the Gallapagos islands, where there is refreshment enough; and returning you may probably touch somewhere on New Holland, and so make some profitable discovery in these places without going out of your way. And to speak my thoughts freely, I believe it is owing to the neglect of this easy way that all that vast tract of Terra Australis which bounds the south sea, is yet undiscovered: those that cross that sea seeming to design some business on the Peruvian or Mexican coast, and so leaving that at a distance. To confirm which, I shall add what captain Davis told me lately, that after his departure from us at the haven of Ria Lexa he went after several traverses, to the Gallipagos, and that standing thence southward for wind, to bring him about to Terra del Fuego, in the lat. of 27 south, about five hundred leagues from Copayapo, on the coast of Chili, he saw a small sandy island just by him; and that they saw to the westward of it a long tract of pretty high land, tending away towards the north west out of sight. This might probably be the coast of Terra Australis Incognita.

But to return to Mindanao. As to the capacity we were then in, of settling ourselves at Mindanao, although we were not set out with any such design of settling, yet we were as well provided, or better, considering all circumstances, than if we had.

For there was scarce any useful trade, but some or other of us understood it. We had sawyers, carpenters, joiners, brickmakers, bricklayers, shoemakers, taylors, &c. we only wanted a good smith for great work ; which we might have had at Mindanao. We were very well provided with iron, lead, and all sorts of tools, as saws, axes, hammers, &c. we had powder and shot enough, and very good small arms. If we had designed to build a fort, we could have spared eight or ten guns out of our ship, and men enough to have managed it, and any affair of trade besides. We had also a great advantage above raw men that are sent out of England into these places, who proceed usually too cautiously, coldly, and formally, to compass any considerable design, which experience better teaches than any rules whatsoever ; besides the danger of their lives in so great and sudden a change of air : whereas we were all inured to hot climates, hardened by many fatigues, and in general daring men, and such as would not be easily baffled. To add one thing more, our men were almost tired, and began to desire a quietus est ; and therefore they would gladly have seated themselves any where. We had a good ship too, and enough of us (besides what might have been spared to manage our new settlement) to bring the news with the effects to the owners in England : for captain Swan had already five thousand pounds in gold, which he and his merchants received for goods sold mostly to captain Harris and his ; which if he had laid but part of it out in spice, as probably he might have done, would have satisfied the merchants to their hearts content. So much by way of digression.

To proceed therefore with our first reception at Mindanao, Raja Laut and his nephew sat still in their canoe, and would not come on board us, because,

cause, as they said, they had no orders for it from the sultan. After about half an hours discourse, they took their leaves, first inviting captain Swan ashore, and promising to assist him in getting provision, which they said at present was scarce, but in three or four months time the rice would be gathered in, and then he might have as much as he pleased; and in the mean time he might secure his ship in some convenient place, for fear of the westerly winds, which they said would be very violent at the latter end of this month, and all the next, as we found them.

We did not know the quality of these two persons till after they were gone, else we should have fired some guns at their departure: when they were gone, a certain officer under the sultan came on board, and measured our ship. A custom derived from the Chinese, who always measure the length and breadth, and the depth of the hold of all ships that come to load there; by which means they know how much each ship will carry. But for what reason this custom is used either by the Chinese, or Mindanao men, I could never learn; unless the Mindanayans design by this means to improve their skill in shipping, against they have a trade.

Captain Swan, considering that the season of the year would oblige us to spend some time at this island, thought it convenient to make what interest he could with the sultan, who might afterwards either obstruct, or advance his designs. He therefore immediately provided a present to send ashore to the sultan, viz. three yards of scarlet cloth, three yards of broad gold lace, a Turkish scimiter and a pair of pistols; and to Raja Laut he sent three yards of scarlet cloth, and three yards of silver lace. This present was carried by Mr. Henry More in

the evening. He was first conducted to Raja Laut's house, where he remained till report thereof was made to the sultan, who immediately gave orders for all things to be made ready to receive him.

About nine o'clock at night, a messenger came from the sultan to bring the present away. Then Mr. More was conducted all the way, with torches and armed men, till he came to the house where the sultan was. The sultan with eight or ten men of his council were seated on carpets, waiting his coming. The present that Mr. More brought was laid down before them, and was very kindly accepted by the sultan, who caused Mr. More to sit down by them, and asked a great many questions of him. The discourse was in Spanish by an interpreter. This conference lasted about an hour, and then he was dismissed, and returned again to Raja Laut's house. There was a supper provided for him and the boats crew, after which he returned on board.

The next day the sultan sent for captain Swan; he immediately went ashore with a flag flying in the boats head, and two trumpets sounding all the way. When he came ashore, he was met at his landing by two principal officers, guarded along with soldiers, and abundance of people gazing to see him. The sultan waited for him in his chamber of audience, where captain Swan was treated with tobacco and betel, which was all his entertainment.

The sultan sent for two English letters for captain Swan to read, purposely to let him know that our East India merchants did design to settle here, and that they had already sent a ship hither. One of these letters was sent to the sultan from England, by the East India merchants. The chief things contained in it, as I remember, for I saw it afterwards

wards in the secretaries hand, who was very proud to shew it to us, was to desire some privileges, in order to the building of a fort there. This letter was written in a very fair hand, and between each line, there was a gold line drawn. The other letter was left by captain Goodlud, directed to any Englishmen who should happen to come hither. This related wholly to trade, giving an account at what rate he had agreed with them for goods of the island, and how European goods should be sold to them; with an account of their weights and measures, and their difference from ours.

The rate agreed on for Mindanao gold, was fourteen Spanish dollars (which is the current coin all over India) the English ounce, and eighteen dollars the Mindanao ounce. But for bees-wax and clove-bark I do not remember the rate, neither do I well remember the rates of European commodities, but I think the rate of iron was not above four dollars a hundred. Captain Goodlud's letter concluded thus. "Trust none of them, for they are all thieves; but tace is latin for a candle." We understood afterwards that captain Goodlud was robbed of some goods by one of the general's men, and that he that robbed him was fled into the mountains, and could not be found while captain Goodlud was here. But the fellow returning back to the city some time after our arrival here, Raja Laut brought him bound to captain Swan, and told him what he had done, desiring him to punish him for it as he pleased; but captain Swan excused himself, and said it did not belong to him, therefore he would have nothing to do with it. However, the general Raja Laut, would not pardon him, but punished him according to their own custom, which I never saw but at this time.

He

He was stripped naked in the morning at sunrise, and bound to a post, so that he could not stir hand nor foot, but as he was moved, and was placed with his face eastward against the sun. In the afternoon they turned his face towards the west, that the sun might still be in his face; and thus he stood all day, parched in the sun, which shines here excessively hot, and tormented with the moskitos or gnats: after this the general would have killed him, if captain Swan had consented to it. I never saw any put to death; but I believe they are barbarous enough in it: the general told us himself that he put two men to death in a town where some of us were with him, but I heard not the manner of it. Their common way of punishing is to strip them in this manner, and place them in the sun; but sometimes they lay them flat on their backs on the sand, which is very hot, where they remain a whole day in the scorching sun, with the moskitos biting them all the time.

This action of the general in offering capt. Swan the punishment of the thief, caused captain Swan afterwards to make him the same offer of his men, when any had offended the Mindanao men; but the general left such offenders to be punished by captain Swan, as he thought convenient. So that for the least offence captain Swan punished his men, and that in the fight of the Mindanaians; and I think sometimes only for revenge, as he once punished his chief mate Mr. Teat, he that came captain of the bark to Mindanao: indeed at that time captain Swan had his men as much under command as if he had been in a king's ship, and had he known how to use his authority, he might have led them to any settlement, and have brought them to assist him in any design he had pleased.

Captain

Captain Swan being dismiss'd from the sultan, with abundance of civility, after about two hours discourse with him, went thence to Raja Laut's house. Raja Laut had then some difference with the sultan, and therefore he was not present at the sultan's reception of our captain, but waited his return, and treated him and all his men with boiled rice and fowls. He then told captain Swan again, and urged it to him, that it would be best to get his ship into the river as soon as he could, because of the usual tempestuous weather at this time of the year, and that he should want no assistance to further him in any thing. He told him also, that as we must of necessity stay here some time, so our men would often come ashore, and he therefore desired him to warn his men to be careful to give no affront to the natives, who, he said, were very revengeful. That their customs being different from ours, he feared that captain Swan's men might sometime or other offend them, though ignorantly, that therefore he gave him this friendly warning, to prevent it; that his house should always be open to receive him or any of his men; and that he knowing our customs, would never be offended at any thing. After a great deal of such discourse, he dismiss'd the captain and his company, who took their leave and came on board.

Captain Swan having seen the two letters, did not doubt but that the English designed to settle a factory here; therefore he did not much suruple the honesty of these people, but immediately ordered us to get the ship into the river. The river upon which the city of Mindanao stands is but small, and hath not above ten or twelve feet water on the bar, at a spring tide; therefore we lightned our ship, and the spring coming on, we with much ado got her into the river, being assisted by fifty or sixty Mindanayan

danayan fishermen, who lived at the mouth of the river, Raja Laut himself being on board our ship to direct them. We carried her about a quarter of a mile up, within the mouth of the river, and there moored, head and stern in a hole, where we always rode afloat. After this the citizens of Mindanao came frequently on board, to invite our men to their houses, and to offer us pagallies. It was a long time since any of us had received such friendship, and therefore we were the more easily drawn to accept of their kindnesses; and in a very short time most of our men got a comrade or two, and as many pagallies; especially such of us as had got good cloths and store of gold, as many had, who were of the number of those that accompanied captain Harris over the isthmus of Darien, the rest of us being poor enough; nay the very poorest and meanest of us could hardly pass the streets, but we were even halled by force into their houses to be treated by them, altho' their treats were but mean, viz. tobacco, or betel-nut, or a little sweet spiced water. Yet their seeming sincerity, simplicity and the manner of bestowing these gifts, made them very acceptable. When we came to their houses they would always be praising the English, as declaring that the English and Mindanaians were all one. This they express'd by putting their two fore fingers close together, and saying that the English and Mindanaians were *famo, famo*, that is, all one. Then they would draw their fore fingers half a foot a sunder, and say the Dutch and they were *buge-to*, which signifies so, that they were at such a distance in point of friendship; and for the Spaniards, they would make a greater representation of distance than for the Dutch; fearing these, but having felt and smarted from the Spaniards, who had once almost brought them under.

Captain

Captain Swan seldom went into any house at first, but Raja Laut's; there he dined commonly every day; and as many of his men as were ashore, and had no money to entertain themselves, resorted thither about twelve o'clock, where they had rice enough boiled and well dressed, and some scraps of fowls, or bits of buffalo, dressed very nastily. Captain Swan was served a little better, and his two trumpets sounded all the time that he was at dinner. After dinner Raja Laut would sit and discourse with him most part of the afternoon. It was now the ramdan time, therefore the general excused himself, that he could not entertain our captain with dances, and other pastimes, as he intended to do when this solemn time was past; besides, it was the very height of the wet season, and therefore not proper for pastimes.

We had now very tempestuous weather, and excessive rains, which so swelled the river, that it overflowed its banks, so that we had much ado to keep our ship safe; for every now and then we should have a great tree come floating down the river, and sometimes lodge against our bows, to the endangering the breaking our cables, and either the driving us over the banks, or carrying us out to sea; both which would have been very dangerous us, especially being without ballast.

The city is about a mile long, of no great breadth, winding with the banks of the river on the right hand going up, tho' it hath many houses on the other side too. But at this time it seemed to stand as in a pond, and there was no passing from one house to another but in canoes. This tempestuous rainy weather happened the latter end of July, and lasted most part of August.

When the bad weather was a little asswaged, captain Swan hired a house, to put our sails and
goods

goods in, while we careen'd our ship. We had a great deal of iron and lead, which was brought on shore into this house. Of these commodities captain Swan sold to the sultan and general, eight or ten tons, at the rates agreed on by captain Goodlud, to be paid in rice. The Mindanaians are no good accomptants, therefore the Chinese that live here, cast up their accompts for them. After this, captain Swan bought timber trees of the general, and sent some of our men to saw them into planks, to sheath the ship's bottom. He had two whip saws on board, which he brought out of England, and four or five men that knew the use of them, for they had been sawyers in Jamaica.

When the ramdan time was over, and the dry time set in a little, the general, to oblige captain Swan, entertained him every night with dances. The dancing women that are purposely bred up to it, and make it their trade, I have already described. But besides them, all the women in general are much addicted to dancing. They dance forty or fifty at once, and that standing all round in a ring joined hand in hand, and singing and keeping time. But they never budge out of the places, nor make any motion till the chorus is sung; then all at once they throw out one leg, and bawl out aloud; sometimes they only clap their hand when the chorus is sung. Captain Swan, to retalliate the general's favours, sent for his violins, and some that could dance English dances; wherewith the general was very well pleased. They commonly spent the biggest part of the night in these sort of pastimes.

Among the rest of our men that used to dance thus before the general, there was one John Thacker, who was a seaman bred, and could neither write nor read, but had formerly learned to dance
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in the music-houses about Wapping: this man came into the south seas with captain Harris, and getting with him a good quantity of gold, and being a pretty good husband of his share, had still some left, besides what he laid out in a very good suit of cloths. The general supposed by his garb and his dancing, that he had been of noble extraction; and to be satisfied of his quality, asked of one of our men if he did not guess aright of him? The man of whom the general asked this question told him, he was much in the right; and that most of our ships company were of the like extraction; especially all those that had fine cloths; and that they came on board only to see the world, having money enough to bear their expences wherever they came, but that for the rest, those that had but mean cloths, they were only common seamen. After this the general shewed a great deal of respect to all that had good cloths, but especially to John Thacker; till captain Swan came to know the business, and marred all; undeceiving the general, and drubbing the noble-man: for he was so much incensed against John Thacker, that he could never endure him afterwards, though the poor fellow knew nothing of the matter.

About the middle of Nov. we began to work on our ships bottom, which we found very much eaten with the worm; for this is a horrid place for worms. We did not know this till after we had been in the river a month, and then we found our canoes bottoms eaten like honey-combs, our bark, which was a single bottom, was eaten through, so that she could not swim. But our ship was sheathed, and the worm came no farther than the hair between the sheathing plank, and the main plank. We did not mistrust the general's knavery till now; for when he came down to our ship, and found us
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ripping off the sheathing plank, and saw the firm bottom underneath, he shook his head, and seemed to be discontented; saying he never saw a ship with two bottoms before. We were told that in this place where we now lay, a Dutch ship was eaten up in two months time, and the general had all her guns; and it is probable he did expect to have had ours; which I do believe was the main reason that made him so forward in assisting us to get our ship into the river, for when we went out again we had no assistance from him. We had no worms till we came to this place; for when we careened at the Marias, the worm had not touched us, nor at Guam, for there we scrubbed, nor after we came to the island Mindanao, for at the south east end of the island we heeled and scrubbed also. The Mindanayans are so sensible of these destructive insects, that whenever they come from sea, they immediately hale their ship into a dry dock, and burn her bottom, and there let her lye dry till they are ready to go to sea again. The canoes or proes they hale up dry, and never suffer them to be long in the water. It is reported that those worms which get into a ship's bottom in the salt water, will die in the fresh water; and that the fresh water worms will die in salt water: but in brackish water, both sorts will increase prodigiously. Now this place where we lay was sometimes brackish water, yet commonly fresh; but what sort of worm this was I know not. Some men are of opinion, that these worms breed in the plank, but I am persuaded they breed in the sea; for I have seen millions of them swimming in the water, particularly in the bay of Panama, for there captain Davis, captain Swan, and myself, and most of our men, did take notice of them divers times, which was the reason of our cleaning so often while we were there: and these

these were the largest worms that I ever saw. I have also seen them in Virginia, and in the bay of Campeachy, in the latter of which places the worm eats prodigiously. They are always in bays, creeks, mouths of rivers, and such places as are near the shore; being never found far out at sea, that I could ever learn; yet a ship will bring them lodg'd in its plank for a great way.

Having thus ripp'd off all our worm-eaten plank, and clapp'd on new, by the beginning of December 1686, our ships bottom was sheathed and tallow'd, and the tenth day we went over the bar, and took on board the iron and lead that we could not sell, and began to fill our water and fetch on board rice for our voyage, but capt. Swan remained on shore still, and was not determin'd when to sail, or whither. But I am well assur'd that he never intended to cruize about Manila, as his crew design'd; for I once ask'd him, and he told me, that what he had already done of that kind he was forc'd to; but now being at liberty, he would never more engage in any such design: for, said he, there is no prince on earth is able to wipe off the stain of such actions. What other designs he had I know not, for he was commonly very cross; yet he never propos'd doing any thing else, but only order'd the provision to be got on board in order to sail; and I am confident if he had made a motion to go to any English factory, most of his men would have consented to it, though probably some would have still oppos'd it. However, his authority might soon have over-swayed those that were refractory; for it was very strange to see the awe that these men were in of him, for he punish'd the most stubborn and daring of his men: yet when we had brought the ship out into the road, they were not altogether so submissive, as while it lay in the river,

No. 16. D though

though even then it was that he punished captain Teat.

I was at that time a hunting with the general for beef, which he had a long time promised us; but now I saw that there was no credit to be given to his word; for I was a week out with him and saw but four cows, which were so wild, that we did not get one. There were five or six more of our company with me; these were young men, and had Dalilahs there, which made them fond of the place, and agreed with the general to tell captain Swan, that there were beeves enough, only they were wild; but I told him the truth, and advised him not to be too credulous of the general's promises. He seemed to be very angry, and stormed behind the general's back, but in his presence was very mute, being a man of small courage.

It was about the 20th day of December when we returned from hunting, and the general designed to go again to another place to hunt for beef; but he staid till after Christmas-day, because some of us designed to go with him, and captain Swan had desired all his men to be on board that day, that we might keep it solemnly together: and accordingly he sent on board a buffaloe the day before, that we might have a good dinner. So the 25th day about ten o'clock, captain Swan came on board, and all his men who were ashore; for you must understand that near a third of our men lived constantly ashore, with their comrades and pagallies, and some with women servants, whom they hired of their masters for concubines. Some of our men also had houses, which they hired or bought for five or six dollars, houses being very cheap, and many of them having more money than they knew what to do with, eased themselves here of the trouble of telling it, spending it very lavishly, their
prodigality

prodigality making the people impose upon them, to the making the rest of us pay the dearer for what we bought, and to the endangering the like impositions upon such Englishmen as may come here hereafter: for the Mindanaians knew how to get our squires gold from them (for we had no silver) and when our men wanted silver, they would change now and then an ounce of gold, and could get for it no more than ten or eleven dollars for a Mindanao ounce, which they would not part with again under eighteen dollars; yet this, and the great prices they set on their goods, were not the only way to lessen their stocks, for their pagallies and comrades would often be begging somewhat of them, and our men were generous enough, and would bestow half an ounce of gold at a time, in a ring for their pagallies, or in a silver wristband, or hoop to come about their arms, in hopes to get a nights lodging with them.

When we were all on board on Christmas day, captain Swan and his two merchants, I expected captain Swan would have made some proposals, or have told us his designs; but he only dined and went ashore again, without speaking any thing of his mind; yet even then I do think he was driving on a design, of going to one of the spice islands, to load with spice, for the young man before mentioned, who I said was sent by his uncle, the sultan of a spice island near Ternate, to invite the English to their island, came on board at this time, and after some private discourse with captain Swan, they both went ashore together. This young man did not care that the Mindanaians should be private to what he said. I have heard capt. Swan say that he offered to load his ship with spice, provided he would build a small fort, and leave some men to secure the island from the Dutch; but I am since informed,

that the Dutch have now got possession of the island.

The next day after Christmas the general went away again, and five or six Englishmen with him, of whom I was one, under pretence of going a hunting; and we all went together by water in his proe, together with his women and servants, to the hunting place. The general always carried his wives and children, his servants, his money and goods with him: so we all embarked in the morning, and arrived there before night. I have already described the fashion of their proes, and the rooms made in them. We were entertained in the general's room or cabin. Our voyage was not so far, but that we reached our port before night.

At this time one of the general's servants had offended, and was punished in this manner. He was bound fast flat on his belly, on a bambou belonging to the proe, which was so near the water, that by the vessels motion, it frequently delved under water, and the man along with it, and sometimes when hoisted up, he had scarce time to blow before he would be carried under water again.

When we had rowed about two leagues, we entered a pretty large deep river, and rowed up a league further, the water salt all the way. There was a pretty large village, the houses built after the country fashion. We landed at this place, where there was a house made ready immediately for us. The general and his women lay at one end of the house, and we at the other end, and in the evening all the women in the village danced before the general.

While he stayed here, the general with his men went out every morning betimes, and did not return till four or five o'clock in the afternoon, and
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he would often complement us, by telling us what good trust and confidence he had in us, saying that he left his women and goods under our protection, and that he thought them as secure with us fix, (for we had all our arms with us) as if he had left one hundred of his own men to guard them. Yet for all this great confidence, he always left one of his principal men, for fear some of us should be too familiar with his women.

They never stirred out of their own room when the general was at home, but as soon as he was gone out, they would presently come into our room, and sit with us all day, and ask a thousand questions of us concerning our English women, and our customs. You may imagine that before this time, some of us had attained so much of their language as to understand them, and give them answers to their demands. I remember that one day they asked how many wives the king of England had, we told them but one, and that our English laws did not allow of any more. They said it was a very strange custom, that a man should be confined to one woman; some of them said it was a very bad law, but others again said it was a good law; so there was a great dispute among them about it. But one of the general's women said positively, that our law was better than theirs, and made them all silent by the reason which she gave for it. This was the War Queen, as we called her, for she always accompanied the general when ever he was called out to engage his enemies, but the rest did not.

By this familiarity among the women, and by often discoursing them, we came to be acquainted with their customs and privileges. The general lies with his wives by turns, but she by whom he had the first son, has a double portion of his company: for when it comes to her turn, she has him

two nights, whereas the rest have him but one. She with whom he is to lye at night seems to have a particular respect shewn her by the rest all the precedent day, and for a mark of distinction, wears a stripped silk handkerchief about her neck, by which we knew who was queen that day.

We lay here about five or six days, but did never in all that time, see the least sign of any beef, which was the business we came about; neither were we suffered to go out with the general to see the wild kind, but we wanted for nothing else: However, this did not please us, and we often importuned him to let us go out among the cattle. At last he told us, that he had provided a jar of rice-drink to be merry with us, and after that we should go with him.

This rice-drink is made of rice boiled and put into a jar, where it remains a long time sleeping in water. I know not the manner of making it, but it is very strong pleasant drink. The evening when the general designed to be merry, he caused a jar of this drink to be brought into our room, and he began to drink first himself, then afterwards his men, so they took turns till they were all as drunk as swine, before they suffered us to drink. After they had enough, then we drank, and they drank no more, for they will not drink after us. The general leaped about our room a little while; but having his load, soon went to sleep.

The next day we went out with the general into the savannah, where he had near one hundred men making a large pen to drive the cattle into. For that is the manner of their hunting, having no dogs. But I saw not above eight or ten cows, and those as wild as deer, so that we got none this day; yet the next day some of his men brought in three heifers, which they killed in the savannah. With these

these we returned on board, they being all that we got there.

Captain Swan was much vext at the general's actions, for he promised to supply us with as much beef as we should want, but now either could not, or would not make good his promise. Besides, he failed to perform his promise in a bargain of rice, that we were to have for the iron which he sold him, but he put us off still from time to time, and would not come to any account. Neither were these all his tricks, for a little before his son was circumcised, (of which I spake in the foregoing chapter) he pretended a great strait for money, to defray the charges of that day, and therefore desired captain Swan to lend him about twenty ounces of gold; for he knew that captain Swan had a considerable quantity of gold in his possession, which the general thought was his own, but indeed had none but what belonged to the merchants. However he lent it the general, but when he came to an account with captain Swan, he told him, that it was usual at such solemn times to make presents, and that he received it as a gift. He also demanded payment for the victuals that our captain and his men did eat at his house. These things startled captain Swan, yet how to help himself he knew not. But all this, with other inward troubles lay hard on our captain's spirits, and put him very much out of humour, for his own company also were pressing him every day to be gone, because now was the height of the easterly monsoon, the only wind to carry us farther into the Indies.

About this time some of our men, who were weary and tired with wandering, ran away into the country and absconded, they being assisted, as was generally believed by Raja Laut. There were others also, who fearing we should not go to an English

port, bought a canoe, and designed to go in her to Borneo: for not long before a Mindanao vessel came from thence, and brought a letter directed to the chief of the English factory at Mindanao. This letter the general would have captain Swan to open, but he thought it might come from some of the East India merchants, whose affairs he would not intermiddle with, and therefore did not open it. I since met with captain Bowry at Achin, and telling him this story, he said that he sent that letter, supposing that the English were settled there at Mindanao, and by this letter we also thought that there was an English factory at Borneo; so here was a mistake on both sides. But this canoe wherewith some of them thought to go to Borneo, captain Swan took them, and threatened the undertakers very hardly. However this did not so far discourage them, for they secretly bought another; but their designs taking air, they were again frustrated by captain Swan.

The whole crew were at this time under a general disaffection, and full of very different projects, and all for want of action. The main division was between those that had money, and those that had none. There was a great difference in the humours of these, for they that had money lived ashore, and did not care for leaving Mindanao; whilst those that were poor lived on board, and urged captain Swan to go to sea. These began to be unruly as well as dissatisfied, and sent ashore the merchants iron to sell for rack and honey, to make punch, wherewith they grew drunk and quarrelsome; which disorderly actions deterred me from going on board, for I did ever abhor drunkenness, which now our men that were on board abandoned themselves wholly to.

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Yet these disorders might have been crushed, if captain Swan had used his authority to suppress them: but he with his merchants living always ashore, there was no command, and therefore every man did what he pleased, and encouraged each other in his villanies. Now Mr. Harthop, who was one of captain Swan's merchants, did very much importune him to settle his resolutions, and declare his mind to his men, which at last he consented to do; therefore he gave warning to all his men to come on board the thirteenth day of January, 1687.

We did all earnestly expect to hear what captain Swan would propose, and therefore were very willing to go on board. But unluckily for him, two days before this meeting was to be, captain Swan sent on board his gunner, to fetch something ashore out of his cabin. The gunner rummaging to find what he was sent for, among other things took out the captain's journal, from America to the island Guam, and laid down by him. This journal was taken up by one John Reed a Bristol man, whom I have mentioned before. He was a pretty ingenious young man, and of a very civil carriage and behaviour. He was also accounted a good artist, and kept a journal, and was now prompted by his own curiosity, to peep into captain Swan's journal, to see how it agreed with his own, a thing very usual among seamen that keep journals, when they have an opportunity, and especially young men, who have no great experience. At the first opening of the book he light on a place in which captain Swan had inveighed bitterly against most of his men, especially against another John Reed, a Jamaica man. This was such stuff as he did not seek after: but hitting so pat on this subject, his curiosity led him to pry farther; and therefore,

fore, while the gunner was busy, he conveyed the book away, to look over it at his leisure. The gunner having dispatched his business, locked up the cabin door, not missing the book, and went ashore. Then John Reed shewed it to his name-fake, and to the rest that were on board, who were by this time the biggest part of them ripe for mischief, only wanting some fair pretence to set themselves to work about it. Therefore looking on what was written in this journal to be matter sufficient for them to accomplish their ends, captain Teat, who, as I said before, had been abused by captain Swan, laid hold on this opportunity to be revenged for his injuries, aggravated the matter to the height, persuading the men to turn out captain Swan from being commander, in hopes to have commanded the ship himself. As for the seamen, they were easily persuaded to any thing; for they were quite tired with this long and tedious voyage, and most of them despaired of ever getting home, and therefore did not care what they did, or whither they went. It was only want of being busied in some action, that made them so uneasy, therefore they consented to what Teat proposed, and immediately all that were on board bound themselves by oath to turn captain Swan out, and to conceal this design from those that were ashore, until the ship was under sail; which would have been presently, if the surgeon or his mate had been on board; but they were both ashore, and they thought it no prudence to go to sea without a surgeon; therefore the next morning they sent ashore one John Cookworthy, to hasten off either the surgeon or his mate, by pretending that one of the men in the night broke his leg by falling into the hold. The surgeon told him that he intended to come on board the next day with the captain, and would not come before; but sent his mate Herman Coppinger. This

This man some time before this was sleeping at his pagallies, and a snake twisted himself about his neck, but afterwards went away without hurting him. In this country it is usual to have the snakes come into the houses, and into the ships too; for we had several come on board our ship when we lay in the river. But to proceed, Herman Coppinger provided to go on board, and the next day, being the time appointed for captain Swan and all his men to meet on board, I went on board with him, neither of us mistrusted what was designing by those on board, till we came thither. Then we found it was only a trick to get the surgeon off; for now having obtained their desires, the canoe was sent ashore again immediately, to desire as many as they could meet to come on board; but not to tell the reason, lest captain Swan should come to hear of it.

The thirteenth day in the morning they weighed, and fired a gun; captain Swan immediately sent on board Mr. Nelly, who was now his chief mate, to see what was the matter: to him they told all their grievances, and shewed him the journal. He persuaded them to stay till the next day, for an answer from captain Swan and the merchants. So they came to an anchor again, and the next morning Mr. Harthop came on board; he persuaded them to be reconciled again, or at least to stay and get more rice, but they were deaf to it, and weighed again while he was on board: yet at Mr. Harthop's persuasion, they promised to stay till two o'clock in the afternoon for captain Swan, and the rest of the men, if they would come on board; but they suffered no man to go ashore, except on William Williams that had a wooden leg, and another that was a sawyer.

If captain Swan had yet come on board, he might have dash'd all their designs; but he neither came himself,

himself, as a captain of any prudence and courage would have done, nor sent till the time was expired. So we left captain Swan and about thirty-six men ashore in the city, and six or eight that run away; and about sixteen we had buried there, the most of which died by poison. The natives are very expert at poisoning, and do it upon small occasions; nor did our men want for giving offence, through their general rogueries, and sometimes by dallying too familiarly with their women, even before their faces. Some of their poisons are slow and lingering; for we had some now on board who were poisoned there, but died not till some months after.

CHAP. XX.

They depart from the river of Mindanao, sailing towards Manila in the isle of Luconia; and after touching at several places, arrive at Pulo Condore.

THE 14th day of January, 1687, at three of the clock in the afternoon, we sailed from the river of Mindanao, designing to cruise before Manila.

It was during our stay at Mindanao, that we were first made sensible of the change of time, in the course of our voyage. For having travelled so far westward, keeping the same course with the sun, we must consequently have gained something insensibly in the length of the particular days, but have lost in the tale, the bulk, or number of the days or hours. According to the different longitudes of England and Mindanao, this isle being west from the Lizard, by common computation, about 210 degrees, the difference of time at our arrival at Mindanao ought to be about fourteen hours; and so much we should have anticipated our reckoning, having

having gained it by bearing the sun company. Now the natural day in every particular place must be consonant to itself; but this going about with, or against the sun's course, will of necessity make a difference in the calculation of the civil day between any two places. Accordingly at Mindanao, and all other places in the East Indies, we found them reckoning a day before us, both natives and Europeans; for the Europeans coming eastward by the cape of Good Hope, in a course contrary to the sun and us, where-ever we met they were a full day before us in their accounts. So among the Indian Mahometans here, their Friday, the day of their sultan's going to their mosques, was Thursday with us; though it were Friday also with those who came eastward from Europe: yet at the Ladrone islands, we found the Spaniards of Guam keeping the same computation with ourselves; the reason of which I take to be, that they settled that colony by a course westward from Spain: the Spaniards going first to America, and thence to the Ladrões and Philippines. But how the reckoning was at Manila, and the rest of the Spanish colonies in the Philippine islands, I know not; whether they keep it as they brought it, or corrected it by the accounts of the natives, and of the Portuguese, Dutch and English, coming the contrary way from Europe.

One great reason why seamen ought to keep the difference of time as exact as they can, is, that they may be the more exact in their longitude. For our tables of the sun's declination, being calculated for the meridians of the places in which they were made, differ about twelve minutes from those parts of the world that lie on their opposite meridians, in the months of March and September; and in proportion to the sun's declination, at other times of
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the year also. And should they run farther as we did, the difference would still increase upon them, and be an occasion of great errors: yet even able seamen in these voyages are hardly made sensible of this, tho' so necessary to be observed, for want of duly attending to the reason of it, as it happened among those of our crew, who after we had past 180 degrees, began to decrease the difference of declination, whereas they ought still to have increased it, for it all the way increased upon us.

We had the wind at N. N. E. fair clear weather, and a brisk gale. We coasted to the westward, on the south side of the island Mindanao, keeping within four or five leagues of the shore. The land from hence tends away W. by S. It is of a good height by the sea, and very woody, and in the country we saw high hills.

The next day we were abreast of Chambongo, a town in this island, and thirty leagues from the river of Mindanao, Here is said to be a good harbour, and a great settlement, with plenty of beef and buffaloe. It is reported that the Spaniards were formerly fortified here also. There are two shoals lie off this place, two or three leagues from the shore. From hence the land is more low and even, yet there are some hills in the country.

About six leagues before we came to the west end of the island Mindanao, we fell in with a great many small low islands or keys, and about two or three leagues to the southward of these keys, there is a long island stretching N. E. and S. W. about twelve leagues. This island is low by the sea on the north side, and has a ridge of hills in the middle, running from one end to the other. Between this island and the small keys, there is a good large channel; among the keys, also, there is a good depth of water, and a violent tide; but on what point

point of the compass it flows, I know not, nor how much it rises and falls.

The seventeenth day we anchored on the east side of all these keys, in eight fathom water, clean sand. Here are plenty of green turtle, whose flesh is as sweet as any in the West Indies; but they are very shy. A little to the westward of these keys, on the island Mindanao, we saw abundance of cocoa-nut trees, therefore we sent our canoe ashore, thinking to find inhabitants, but found none, nor sign of any, but great tracks of hogs, and great cattle; and close by the sea there was the ruins of an old fort. The walls thereof were of a good height, built with stone and lime, and by the workmanship seemed to be Spanish. From this place the land tends W. N. W. and it is of an indifferent height by the sea. It runs on this point of the compass four or five leagues, and then the land tends away N. N. W. five or six leagues farther, making many bluff points.

We weighed again the 14th day, and went thro' between the keys; but met such uncertain tides, that we were forced to anchor again. The twenty-second day we got about the westernmost point of all Mindanao, and stood to the northward, plying under the shore, and having the wind at N. N. E. a fresh gale. As we sailed along further, we found the land to tend N. N. E. On this part of the island the land is high by the sea, with full bluff points, and very woody. There are some small sandy bays, which afford streams of fresh water.

Here we met with two proes belonging to the Sologues, one of the Mindanaian nations before-mentioned. They came from Manila laden with silks and calicoes. We kept on this western part of the island, steering northerly, till we came abreast
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of some other of the Philippine islands, that lay to the northward of us, then steered away towards them, but still keeping on the west side of them, and we had the winds at N. N. E.

The third day of February, we anchored in a good bay on the west side of an island, in lat. 9 d. 55 min. where we had thirteen fathom water, good soft ooze. This island hath no name that we could find in any book, but lies on the west side of the island Sebo. It is about eight or ten leagues long, mountainous and woody. At this place captain Read, who was the same captain Swan had so much railed against in his journal, and was now made captain in his room (as captain Teat was made master, and Mr. Henry More quartermaster) ordered the carpenters to cut down our quarter deck to make the ship snug, and the fitter for sailing. When that was done we heeled her, scrubbed her bottom and tallowed it. Then we filled all our water, for here is a delicate small run of water.

The land was pretty low in this bay, the mould black and fat, and the trees of several kinds, very thick and tall. In some places we found plenty of canes, such as we use in England for walking-canes. These were short-jointed, not above two feet and a half, or two feet ten inches the longest, and most of them not above two feet. They run along on the ground like a vine, or taking hold of the trees, they climb up to their very tops. They are fifteen or twenty fathom long, and much of a bigness from the root, till within five or six fathom of the end. They are of a pale green colour, cloathed over with a coat of a short thick hairy substance, of a dun colour: but it comes off by only drawing the cane through your hand. We cut many of them, and they proved very tough heavy canes.

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We saw no houses, nor sign of inhabitants, but while we lay here, there was a canoe with six men came into this bay, but whither they were bound, or from whence they came I know not. They were Indians, and we could not understand them.

In the middle of this bay, about a mile from the shore, there is a small low woody island, not above a mile in circumference: our ship rode about a mile from it. This island was the habitation of an incredible number of great bats, with bodies as big as ducks, or larger fowl, and with vast wings; for I saw one of this sort at Mindanao, and I judge that the wings stretched out in length, could not be less than seven or eight feet from tip to tip; for it was much more than any of us could fathom with our arms extended to the utmost. The wings are for substance like those of other bats, of a dun or mouse colour. The skin or leather of them hath ribs running along it, and draws up in three or four folds, and at the joints of those ribs and the extremities of the wings, there are sharp crooked claws, by which they hang on any thing. In the evening as soon as the sun was set, these creatures would begin to take their flight from this island, in swarms like bees, directing their flight over to the main island, and whither afterwards I know not. Thus we should see them rising up from the island till night hindered our sight, and in the morning as soon as it was light, we should see them returning again like a cloud, to the small island, till the sun rising. This course they kept constantly while we lay here, affording us every morning and evening an hours diversion in gazing at them, and talking about them; but our curiosity did not prevail with us to go ashore to them, ourselves and canoes being all the day time taken up in business about our ship.

At this isle we also found plenty of turtle and manatee, but no fish.

We staid here till the tenth of February, 1687, and then having compleated our business, we sailed hence with the wind at north. But going out we struck on a rock, where we lay two hours: it was very smooth water, and the tide of flood, or else we there should have lost our ship. We struck off a great piece of our rudder, which was all the damage that we received, but we more narrowly missed losing our ship this time, than in any other in the whole voyage. This is a very dangerous shoal, because it does not break, unless probably it may appear it foul weather. It lies about two miles to the westward, without the small batt island. Here we found the tide of flood setting to the southward, and the ebb to the northward.

After we were past this shoal, we coasted along by the rest of the Philippine islands, keeping on the west side of them. Some of them appeared to be very mountainous dry land. We saw many fires in the night as we passed by Panay, a great island settled by Spaniards, and by the fires up and down, it seems to be well settled by them, for this is a Spanish custom, whereby they give notice of any danger or the like from sea, and it is probable they had seen our ship the day before. This is an unfrequented coast, and it is rare to have any ship seen there. We touched not at Panay, nor any where else; though we saw a great many small islands to the westward of us, and some shoals, but none of them laid down in our draughts.

The 18th day of February, we anchored at the north west end of the island Mindora, in ten fathom water, about three quarters of a mile from the shore. Mindora is a large island, the middle of it lying in lat. 13, about forty leagues long, stretching

ing northwest and southeast. It is high and mountainous, not very woody. At this place where we anchored, the land was neither very high nor low. There was a small brook of water, the land by the sea was very woody, and the trees high and tall, but a league or two farther in, the woods are very thin and small. Here we saw great tracks of hogs and beef, and we saw some of each, and hunted them, but they were wild, and we could kill none.

While we were here there was a canoe with four Indians came from Manila. They were very shy of us a while, but at last, hearing us speak Spanish, they came to us, and told us, that they were going to a frier, that lived at an Indian village towards the S. E. end of the island. They told us also that the harbour of Manila is seldom or never without twenty or thirty sail of vessels, most Chinese, some Portuguese, and some few the Spaniards have of their own. They said that when they had done their business with the frier they would return to Manila, and hoped to be back again at this place in four days time. We told them, that we came for a trade with the Spaniards at Manila, and should be glad if they would carry a letter to some merchant there, which they promised to do. But this was only a pretence of ours, to get out of them what intelligence we could as to their shipping and strength, and the like, under colour of seeking a trade; for our business was to pillage. Now if we had really designed to have traded here, this was as fair an opportunity as men could have desired; for these men could have brought us to the frier that they were going to, and a small present to him would have engaged him to do any kindness for us in the way of trade; for the Spanish governors do not allow of it, and we must trade by stealth.

The 21st day we went from hence with the wind at E. N. E. a small gale. The 23^d day in the morning we were fair by the S. E. end of the island Luconia, the place that had been so long desired by us. We presently saw a sail coming from the northward, and making after her we took her in two hours time. She was a Spanish bark, that came from a place called Pangasanam, a small town on the N. end of Luconia, as they told us; probably the same with Pongassinay, which lies on a bay at the northwest side of the island. She was bound to Manila, but had no goods on board, and therefore we turned her away.

The 23^d we took another Spanish vessel that came from the same place as the other. She was laden with rice and cotton cloth, and bound for Manila also. These goods were purposely for the Acapulco ship; the rice was for the men to live on while they lay there, and in their return; and the cotton-cloth was to make sail. The master of this prize was boatswain of the Acapulco ship which escaped us at Guam, and was now at Manila. It was this man that gave us the relation of what strength it had, how they were afraid of us there, and of the accident that happened to them, as was before mentioned. We took these two vessels within seven or eight leagues of Manila.

Luconia I have spoken of already; but I shall now add this further account of it. It is a great island, taking up between six and seven degrees of latitude in length, and its breadth near the middle is about sixty leagues, but the ends are narrow. The north end lies in about 19 d. north latitude, and the south end in about 12 d. 30 min. This great island hath abundance of small keys or islands lying about it, especially at the north end. The south side fronts towards the rest of the Phillippine islands:

islands: of these that are its nearest neighbours, Mindora, lately mentioned, is the chief, and gives name to the sea or streight that parts it and the other islands from Luconia, being called the streights of Mindora.

The body of the island Luconia is composed of many spacious plain savannahs, and large mountains. The north end seems to be more plain and even, I mean freer from hills, than the south end; but the land is all along of a good height. It does not appear so flourishing and green as some of the other islands in this range, especially that of St. John, Mindanao, Batt island, &c. yet in some places it is very woody. Some of the mountains of this island affords gold, and the savannahs are well stocked with herds of cattle, especially buffaloes. These cattle are in great plenty all over the East Indies; and therefore it is very probable that there were many of these here even before the Spaniards came hither. But now there are also plenty of other cattle, as I have been told, as bullocks, horses, sheep, goats, hogs, &c. brought hither by the Spaniards.

It is pretty well inhabited with Indians, most of them, if not all, under the Spaniards, who now are masters of it. The native Indians do live together in towns, and they have priests among them to instruct them in the Spanish religion.

Manila, the chief, or perhaps only city, lies at the foot of a ridge of high hills, looking upon a spacious harbour near the south west point of the island, in about the latitude of 14 d. north. It is environed with a high strong wall, and very well fortified with forts and breastworks. The houses are large, strongly built, and covered with pan-tile. The streets are large and pretty regular, with a parade in the midst, after the Spanish fashion.

There are a great many fair buildings, besides churches and other religious houses, of which there are not a few.

The harbour is so large, that some hundreds of ships may ride here; and is never without many, both of their own, and strangers. I have already given you an account of the two ships going and coming between this place and Acapulco. Besides them, they have some small vessels of their own, and they do allow the Portuguese to trade here, but the Chinese are the chiefest merchants, who drive the greatest trade, for they have commonly twenty, thirty, or forty jonks in the harbour at a time, and a great many merchants constantly residing in the city, besides shop-keepers, and handy-crafts men in abundance. Small vessels run up near the town, but the Acapulco ships and others of greater burthen, lie a league short of it, where there is a strong fort also, and store-houses to put goods in.

I had the major part of this relation two or three years after this time, from Mr. Coppinger our surgeon, for he made a voyage hither from Porto Nova, a town on the coast of Coromandel, in a Portuguese ship, as I think. Here he found ten or twelve of captain Swan's men, some of those that we left at Mindanao. For after we came from thence, they bought a proe there, by the instigation of an Irishman, who went by the name of John Fitz-Gerald, a person that spoke Spanish very well, and so in this their proe they came hither. They had been here but eighteen months when Mr. Coppinger arrived here, and Mr. Fitz-Gerald had this time gotten a Spanish mustesa woman to wife, and a good dowry with her. He then professed physic and surgery, and was highly esteemed among the Spaniards for his supposed knowledge in those arts :
for

for being always troubled with sore shins while he was with us, kept some plaisters and salves by him, and with these he set up, upon his bare natural stock of knowledge, and his experience in kibes. But then he had a very great stock of confidence withal, to help out the other, and being an Irish Roman Catholick, and having the Spanish language, he had a great advantage of all his consorts; and he alone lived well there of them all. We were not within sight of this town, but I was shewn the hills that over-looked it, and drew a draft of them as we lay off at sea.

The time of the year being now too far spent to do any thing here, it was concluded to sail from hence to Pulo Condore, a little parcel of islands, on the coast of Cambodia, and carry this prize with us, and there careen, if we could find any convenient place for it, designing to return hither again by the latter end of May, and to wait for the Acapulco ship that comes about that time. By our drafts (which we were guided by, being strangers to these parts) this seemed to us then to be a place out of the way, where we might lie snug for a while, and wait the time of returning for our prey. For we avoided as much as we could the going to lie by at any great place of commerce, lest we should become too much exposed, and perhaps be assaulted by a force greater than our own.

So having set our prisoners ashore, we sailed from Luconia the 26th day of February, with the wind E. N. E. and fair weather, and a brisk gale. We were in lat. 14 d. N. when we began to steer away for Pulo Condore, and we steered S. by W. In our way thither we went pretty near the shoals of Pracel, and other shoals which are very dangerous. We were very much afraid of them, but escaped them without so much as seeing them, only at the very

south end of the Prancel shoals, we saw three little sandy islands or spots of land, standing just above water within a mile of us.

It was the 13th day of March before we came in sight of Pulo Condore, or the island Condore, as Pulo signifies. The 14th day about noon we anchored on the north side of the island, against a sandy bay, two miles from the shore, in ten fathom clean hard sand, with both ship and prize. Pulo Condore is the principal of a heap of islands, and the only inhabited one of them. They lie in lat. 8 d. 14 m. north, and about twenty leagues south and by east from the mouth of the river of Cambodia. These islands lie so near together, that at a distance they appear to be but one island.

Two of these islands are pretty large, and of a good height, they may be seen fourteen or fifteen leagues at sea; the rest are but little spots. The biggest of the two (which is the inhabited one) is about four or five leagues long, and lies east and west. It is not above three miles broad at the broadest place, in most places not above a mile wide. The other large island is about three miles long, and half a mile wide. This island stretcheth N. and S. It is so conveniently placed at the west end of the biggest island, that between both there is formed a very commodious harbour. The entrance of this harbour is on the north side, where the two islands are near a mile asunder. There are three or four small keys, and a good deep channel between them and the biggest island. Towards the south end of the harbour the two islands do in a manner close up, leaving only a small passage for boats and canoes. There are no more islands on the north side, but five or six on the south side of the great island.

The

The mould of these islands for the biggest part is blackish, and pretty deep; only the hills are somewhat stoney. The eastern part of the biggest island is sandy, yet all cloathed with trees of divers sorts. The trees do not grow so thick as I have seen them in some places, but they are generally large and tall, and fit for any use.

There is one sort of tree much larger than any other on this island, and which I have not seen any where else. It is about three or four feet diameter in the body, from whence is drawn a sort of clammy juice, which being boiled a little becomes perfect tar; and if you boil it much it will become hard as pitch. It may be put to either use; we used it both ways, and found it to be very serviceable. The way that they get this juice, is by cutting a great gap horizontally in the body of the tree half through, and about a foot from the ground; and then cutting the upper part of the body aslope inwardly downward, till in the middle of the tree it meet with the traverse cutting or plain. In this plain horizontal semicircular stump, they make a hollow like a basin that may contain a quart or two. Into this hole the juice which drains from the wounded upper part of the tree falls; from whence you must empty it every day. It will run thus for some months, and then dry away, and the tree will recover again.

The fruit trees that nature hath bestowed on these isles are mangoes, and trees bearing a sort of grape, and other trees bearing a kind of wild or bastard nutmegs: these all grow wild in the woods, and in very great plenty.

The mangoes here grow on trees as big as apple-trees: those at Fort St. George are not so large. The fruit of these is as big as a small peach, but long and smaller towards the top: it is of a yellowish colour when ripe, it is very juicy, and of a pleasant

fant smell, and delicate taste. When the mango is young, they cut them in two pieces, and pickle them with salt and vinegar, in which they put some cloves of garlick. This is an excellent sauce, and much esteemed, it is called mango achar, achar, I presume, signifies sauce. They make in the East Indies, especially at Siam and Pegu, several sorts of achar, as of the young tops of bamboes, &c. Bamboe achar and mango achar are most used. The mangoes were ripe when we were there, (as were also the rest of these fruits) and they have then so delicate a fragrancy, that we could smell them out in the thick woods if we had but the wind of them, while we were a good way from them, and could not see them: and we generally found them out this way. Mangoes are common in many places of the East Indies: but I never knew any grow wild only at this place. These, though not so big as those I have seen at Achin, at Maderas, and Fort St. George, are yet every whit as pleasant as the best sort of their garden mangoes.

The grape-tree grows with a strait body, of a diameter about a foot or more, and hath but few limbs or boughs. The fruit grows in clusters, all about the body of the tree, like the jack, durian, and cocoa fruits. There are of them both red and white. They are much like such grapes as grow on our vines, both in shape and colour, and they are of a very pleasant vinous taste. I never saw these but on the two biggest of these islands; the rest had no tar-trees, mangos, grape-trees, nor wild nutmegs.

The wild nutmeg-tree is as big as a walnut-tree, but it does not spread so much. The boughs are gross, and the fruit grows among the boughs, as the walnut, and other fruits. This nutmeg is much smaller than the true nutmeg, and longer also. It is

is inclosed with a thin shell, and a sort of mace, encircling the nut within the shell. This bastard nutmeg is so much like the true nutmeg in shape, that at our first arrival here we thought it to be the true one, but it has no manner of smell nor taste.

The animals of these islands are some hogs, lizards, and guanoes, and some of those creatures mentioned in chapter XVIII which are like, but much bigger than the Guano.

Here are many sorts of birds, as parrots, parakeetes, doves, and pigeons. Here are also a sort of wild cocks and hens: they are much like our tame fowl of that kind, but a great deal less; for they are about the bigness of a crow. The cocks crow like ours, but much more small and shrill, and by their crowing we first find them out in the woods, where we shoot them. Their flesh is very white and sweet.

There are a great many limpits, and muscles, and plenty of green turtle.

And upon this mention of turtle again, I think it not amiss to add some reasons to strengthen the opinion that I have given concerning these creatures removing from place to place. I have said in chapter 12th, that they leave their common feeding places, and go to places a great way from thence to lay, as particularly to the island Ascension. Now I have discoursed with some since that subject was printed, who are of opinion, that when the laying time is over, they never go from thence, but lie some where in the sea about the island, which I think is very improbable; for there can be no food for them there, as I could soon make appear; as particularly from hence, that the sea about the isle of Ascension is so deep as to admit of no anchoring but at one place, where there is no sign of grass: and we never bring up with our sounding lead, any
grass

grafs or weeds out of very deep seas, but sand or the like only. But if this be granted, that there is food for them, yet I have a great deal of reason to believe that the turtle go from hence, for after the laying time you shall never see them, and where ever turtle are, you will see them rise, and hold their head above water to breath, once in seven or eight minutes, or at longest in ten or twelve. And if any man does but consider, how fish take their certain seasons of the year to go from one sea to another, this would not seem strange, even fowls also having their seasons to remove from one place to another.

These islands are pretty well watered with small brooks of fresh water, that run flush into the sea for ten months in the year. The latter end of March they begin to dry away, and in April you shall have none in the brooks, but what is lodged in deep holes, but you may dig wells in some places. In May, when the rain comes, the land is again replenished with water, and the brooks run out into the sea.

These islands lie very commodiously in the way to and from Japan, China, Manila, Tonquin, Cochinchina, and in general all this most easterly coast of the Indian continent, whether you go through the streights of Malacca, or the streights of Sunda, between Sumatra and Java; and one of them you must pass in the common way from Europe, or other parts of the East Indies; unless you mean to fetch a great compass round most of the East India islands, as we did. Any ship in distress may be refreshed and recruited here very conveniently; and besides ordinary accommodations, be furnished with masts, yards, pitch, and tar. It might also be a convenient place to usher in a commerce with the neighbouring country of Cochinchina, and forts
might

might be built to secure a factory, particularly at the harbour, which is capable of being well fortified.

The inhabitants of this island are by nation Cochinchinese, as they told us, for one of them spake good Malayan : which language we learned a smattering of, and some of us so as to speak it pretty well while we lay at Mindanao, and this is the commerce (though it be not in several of them the native language) in most of the East India islands, being the *Lingua Franca*, as it were, of these parts. I believe 'tis the vulgar tongue at Malacca, Sumatra, Java, and Borneo ; but at Celebes, the Philippine islands and the spice islands, it seems borrowed for the carrying on of trade.

The inhabitants of Pulo Condore are but small people in stature, well enough shaped, and of a darker colour than the Mindanaians. They are pretty long visaged ; their hair is black and straight ; their eyes are but small and black ; their noses of a mean bigness and pretty high ; their lips thin, their teeth white, and little mouths : they are very civil people, but extraordinary poor. Their chief employment is to draw the juice of those trees that I have described, to make tar. They preserve it in wooden troughs, and when they have their cargo, they transport it to Cochinchina, their mother country. Some others of them employ themselves to catch turtle, and boil up their fat to oil, which they also transport home. These people have great large nets, with wide meshes to catch the turtle. The Jamaica turtlers have such ; and I never saw the like nets but at Jamaica and here.

They are so free of their women, that they would bring them aboard, and offer them to us ; and many of our men hired them for a small matter. This is a custom used by several nations in the East Indies ;

Indies ; as at Pegu, Siam, Cochinchina, and Cambodia, as I have been told. It is used at Tonquin also to my knowledge ; for I afterwards made a voyage thither, and most of our men had women on board all the time of our abode there. In Africa also, on the coast of Guinea, our merchants, factors, and seamen that reside there, have their black mistresses. It is accounted a piece of policy to do it, for the chief factors and captains of ships have the great mens daughters offered them, the Mandarins or noblemen's at Tonquin, and even the kings wives in Guinea ; and by this sort of alliance, the country people are engaged to a greater friendship ; and if there should arise any difference about trade, or any thing else, which might provoke the natives to seek some treacherous revenge (to which all these heathen nations are very prone) then these Dalilahs would certainly declare it to their white friends, and so hinder their countrymens designs.

These people are idolaters ; but their manner of worship I know not. There are a few scattering houses and plantations on the great island, and a small village on the south side of it ; where there is a little idol temple, and an image of an elephant, about five feet high, and in bigness proportionable, placed on one side of the temple ; and a horse, not so big, placed on the other side it, both standing with their heads towards the south. The temple itself was low and ordinary, built of wood, and thatched, like one of their houses, which are but very mean.

The images of the horse and the elephant were the most general idols that I observ'd in the temples of Tonquin, when I travelled there. There were other images also, of beasts, birds, and fish ; I do not remember I saw any human shape there, nor any such monstrous representations as I have seen
among

among the Chinese. Where-ever the Chinese seamen or merchants come (and they are very numerous all over these seas) they have always hideous idols on board their jonks or ships, with altars, and images burning before them. These idols they bring ashore with them; and besides those they have in common, every man hath one in his own house. Upon some particular solemn days I have seen their bonzies, or priests, bring whole armfuls of painted papers, and burn them with a great deal of ceremony, being very careful to let no piece escape them. The same day they killed a goat, which had been purposely fattening a month before; this they offer or present before their idol, and then dress it and feast themselves with it. I have seen them do this at Tonquin, where I have at the same time been invited to their feasts, and at Bancouli, in the isle of Sumatra, they sent a shoulder of the sacrificed goat to the English, who eat of it, and asked me to do so too, but I refused.

When I was at Madras, or Fort St. George, I took notice of a great ceremony used for several nights successively by the idolaters inhabiting the suburbs; both men and women (these very well clad) in a great multitude went in solemn procession with lighted torches, carrying their idols about with them. I knew not the meaning of it. I observed some went purposely carrying oil to sprinkle into the lamps, to make them burn the brighter. They began their round about eleven o'clock at night, and having paced it gravely about the streets till two or three o'clock in the morning, their idols were carried with much ceremony into the temple by the chief of the procession, and some of the women I saw enter the temple, particularly. Their idols were different from those of Tonquin, Cambodia, &c. being in human shape.

I have said already that we arrived at these islands the 14th day of March, 1687. The next day we searched about for a place to careen in, and the 16th day we entered the harbour, and immediately provided to careen. Some men were set to fell great trees to saw into plank, others went to unrigging the ship; some made a house to put our goods in, and for the sailmaker to work in. The country people resorted to us, and brought us of the fruits of the island, with hogs, and sometimes turtle; for which they received rice in exchange, which we had a ship load of, taken at Manila. We bought of them also good quantity of their pitchy liquor, which we boiled, and used about our ships bottom. We mixed it first with lime, which we made here, and it made an excellent coat, and stuck on very well.

We staid in this harbour from the 16th day of March till the 16th day of April; in which time we made a new suit of sails of the cloth that was taken in the prize. We cut a spare main-top-mast, and sawed plank to sheath the ships bottom; for she was not sheathed all over at Mindanao, and that old plank that was left on then we now ripped off, and clapped on new.

While we lay here two of our men died, who were poisoned at Mindanao; they told us of it, when they found themselves poisoned, and had lingered ever since. They were opened by our doctor, according to their own request before they died, and their livers were black, light and dry, like pieces of cork.

Our business being finished here, we left the Spanish prize taken at Manila, and most of the rice, taking out enough for ourselves; and on the 17th day we went from hence to the place where we first anchored, on the north side of the great island,

island, purposely to water, for there was a great stream, when we first came to the island, and we thought it was so now. But we found it dried up, only it stood in holes, two or three hogheads, or a tun in a hole ; therefore we immediately cut bamboes, and made spouts, through which we conveyed the water down to the sea side, by taking it up in bowls, and pouring it into these spouts or troughs. We conveyed some of it thus near a mile. While we were filling our water, captain Read engaged an old man, one of the inhabitants of this island, the same, who, I said, could speak the Maylayan language, to be his pilot to the bay of Siam : for he had often been telling us, that he was well acquainted there, and that he knew some islands there, where there were fishermen lived, who he thought could supply us with salt-fish to eat at sea ; for we had nothing but rice to eat. The easterly monsoon was not yet done, therefore it was concluded to spend some time there, and then take the advantage of the beginning of the western monsoon, to return to Manila again.

The 21st day of April 1687, we sailed from Pulo Condore, directing our course W. by S. for the bay of Siam. We had fair weather and a fine moderate gale of wind at E. N. E.

The 23d day we arrived at Pulo Uby, or the island Uby. This island is about forty leagues to the westward of Pulo Condore ; it lies just at the entrance of the bay of Siam, at the S. W. point of land, that makes the bay ; namely, the point of Cambodia. This island is about seven or eight leagues round, and it is higher land than any of Pulo Condore isles. Against the south east part of it there is a small key, about a cable's length from the main island. This Pulo Uby is very woody,

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and it has good water on the north side, where you may anchor, but the best anchoring is on the east side against a small bay; then you will have the little island to the southward of you.

At Pulo Uby we found two small barks laden with rice. They belonged to Cambodia, from whence they came not above two or three days before, and they touched here to fill water. Rice is the general food of all these countries, therefore it is transported by sea from one country to another, as corn in these parts of the world. For in some countries they produce more than enough for themselves, and send what they can spare to those places where there is but little.

The 24th day we went into the bay of Siam: this is a large deep bay, of which, and of this kingdom I shall at present speak but little, because I design a more particular account of all this coast, to wit, of Tonquin, Cochinchina, Siam, Champa, Cambodia, and Malacca, making all the most easterly part of the continent of Asia, lying south of China, but to do it in the course of this voyage, would too much swell this volume, and I shall chuse therefore to give a separate relation of what I know or have learned of them, together with the neighbouring parts of Sumatra, Java, &c. where I have spent some time.

We run down into the bay of Siam, till we came to the islands that our Pulo Condore pilot told us of, which lie about the middle of the bay; but as good a pilot as he was, he run us aground; yet we had no damage. Captain Read went ashore at these islands, where he found a small town of fishermen, but they had no fish to sell, and so we returned empty.

We had yet fair weather and very little wind, so that being often becalmed, we were till the 13th day

day of May before we got to Pulo Uby again. There found two small vessels at an anchor on the east side; they were laden with rice and laquer, which is used in japaning of cabinets. One of these come from Champa, bound to the town of Malacca, which belongs to the Dutch, who took it from the Portuguese; and this shews that they have a trade with Champa. This was a very pretty neat vessel, her bottom very clean and curiously coated, she had about forty men all armed with cortans, or broad swords, lances, and some guns, that went with a swivel upon their gunnals. They were of the idolaters, natives of Champa, and some of the briskest, most sociable, without fearfulness or shyness, and the most neat and dexterous about their shipping, of any such I have met with in all my travels. The other vessel came from the river of Cambodia, and was bound towards the streights of Malacca. Both of them stopped here, for the westerly winds now began to blow, which were against them, being somewhat belated.

We anchored also on the east side, intending to fill water. While we lay here we had very violent wind at S. W. and a strong current setting right to windward. The fiercer the wind blew the more strong the current set against it. This storm lasted till the 20th day, and then it began to abate.

The 21st day of May we went back from hence towards Pulo Condore. In our way we overtook a great jonk that came from Palimbam, a town on the island Sumatra; she was full laden with pepper which they bought there; and was bound to Siam, but it blowing so hard, she was afraid to venture into that bay, and therefore came to Pulo Condore with us, where we both anchored May the 24th. This vessel was of the Chinese make, full of little rooms or partitions like our well-boats; I shall de-

scribe them in the next chapter. The men of this jonk told us, that the English were settled on the island Sumatra, at a place called Sillabar; and the first knowledge we had that the English had any settlement on Sumatra was from these.

When we came to an anchor, we saw a small bark at an anchor near the shore; therefore captain Read sent a canoe on board her, to know from whence they came; and supposing that it was a Malaya vessel, he ordered the men not to go on board, for they are accounted desperate fellows, and their vessels are commonly full of men, who all wear cressets, or little daggers by their sides. The canoe's crew, not minding the captain's orders, went on board, all but one man that staid in the canoe. The Malaians, who were about twenty of them, seeing our men all armed, thought that they came to take their vessel; therefore at once, on a signal given, they drew out their cressets, and stabbed five or six of our men before they knew what the matter was. The rest of our men leap'd overboard, some into the canoe, and some into the sea, and so got away. Among the rest, one Daniel Wallis leap'd into the sea, who could never swim before nor since, yet now he swam very well, a good while before he was taken up. When the canoe came on board, captain Read manned two canoes, and went to be revenged on the Malaians; but they seeing him coming, cut a hole in their vessel's bottom, and went ashore in their boat. Captain Read followed them, but they run into the woods and hid themselves. Here we staid ten or eleven days, for it blew very hard all the time. While we staid here, Herman Coppinger, our surgeon went ashore, intending to live here, but captain Read sent some men to fetch him again. I had the same thoughts, and would have gone ashore too, but

but waited for a more convenient place. For neither he nor I, when we were last on board at Mindanao, had any knowledge of the plot that was laid to leave captain Swan, and run away with the ship; and being sufficiently weary of this mad crew, we were willing to give them the slip at any place from whence we might hope to get a passage to an English factory. There was nothing else of moment happened while we staid here.

CHAP. XXII.

They leave Pulo Condore, designing for Manila, but are driven off from thence, and go to the isle of St. John on the coast of China; to the isles Piscadores near Formosa, the Bashee and Goat Isles.

HAVING filled our water, cut our wood, and got our ship in a sailing posture, while the blustering hard winds lasted, we took the first opportunity of a settled gale to sail towards Manila. Accordingly June the 4th, 1687, we loosed from Pulo Condore, with the wind at S. W. fair weather and a brisk gale. The pepper jonk bound to Siam remained there, waiting for an easterly wind; but one of his men, a kind of a bastard Portuguese, came on board our ship, and was entertained for the sake of his knowledge in the several languages of these countries. The wind continued in the S. W. but twenty four hours, or a little more, and then came about to the north, and then to the N. E. and the sky became exceeding clear. Then the wind came at east, and stood betwixt E. and S. E. for eight or ten days; yet we continued plying to windward, expecting every day a shift of wind, because these winds were not according to the season of the year.

We were now afraid lest the currents might deceive us, and carry us on the shoals of Pracel, which were near us, a little to the north west, but we passed on to the eastward, without seeing any sign of them; yet we were kept much to the northward of our intended course, and the easterly winds still continuing, we despaired of getting to Manila, and therefore began to project some new design, and the result was, to visit the island Prata, about the lat. of 20 deg. 40 min. north, and not far from us at this time.

It is a small low island, environed with rocks quite round it, by report. It lies so in the way between Manila and Canton, the head of a province, and a town of great trade in China, that the Chinese dread the rocks about it, more than the Spaniards did formerly Bermudas; for many of their jonks coming from Manila have been lost there, with abundance of treasure in them; as we were informed by all the Spaniards that ever we conversed with in these parts. They told us also, that in these wrecks most of the men were drowned, and that the Chinese never went thither to take up any of the treasure that was lost there, for fear of being lost themselves. But the danger of the place did not daunt us, for we were resolved to try our fortunes there, if the winds would permit; so we beat for it five or six days, but at last were forced to leave that design also for want of winds; for the S. E. winds continuing, forced us on the coast of China.

It was the 25th day of June when we made the land, and running in towards the shore we came to an anchor the same day, on the N. E. end of St. John's island.

This island is in lat. about 2 d. 30 min. north, lying on the south coast of the province of Quan-
tung

tung or Canton in China. It is of an indifferent height, pretty plain, and the soil fertile enough. It is partly woody, partly savannahs or pasturage for cattle; and there is some moist arable land for rice.

The skirts or outer part of the island, especially that part of it which borders on the main sea, is woody: the middle part of it is good thick grassy pasture, with some groves of trees; and that which is cultivated land is low wet land, yielding plentiful crops of rice; the only grain that I saw here. The tame cattle which this island affords, are China hogs, goats, buffaloes, and some bullocks. The hogs of this island are all black; they have but small heads, very short thick necks, great bellies, commonly touching the ground, and short legs. They eat but little food, yet they are most of them very fat; probably because they sleep much. The tame fowls are ducks, and cocks and hens. I saw no wild fowl but a few small birds,

The natives of this island are Chinese. They are subject to the crown of China, and consequently at this time to the Tartars. The Chinese in general are tall, strait-bodied, raw-boned men. They are long visaged, and their foreheads are high, but they have little eyes. Their noses are pretty large, with a rising in the middle. Their mouths are of a mean size, pretty thin lips. They are of an ashy complexion; their hair is black, and their beards thin and long, for they pluck the hair out by the roots, suffering only some few very long straggling hairs to grow about their chin, in which they take great pride, often combing them, and sometimes tying them up in a knot; and they have such hairs too growing down from each side of their upper lip, like whiskers. The ancient Chinese were very proud of the hair of their heads, letting it grow very long, and stroking it back with their hands

curiously, and then winding the plats all together round a bodkin, thrust through it at the hinder part of the head; both men and women did thus. But when the Tartars conquered them, they broke them of this custom they were fond of, by main force; infomuch that they resented this imposition worse than their subjection, and rebelled upon it; but being still worited, were forced to acquiesce, and to this day they follow the fashion of their masters the Tartars, and shave all their heads, only reserving one lock, which some tie up, others let it hang down to a great or small length as they please. The Chinese in other countries still keep their old custom; but if any of the Chinese is found wearing long hair in China, he forfeits his head; and many of them have abandoned their country to preserve the liberty of wearing their hair, as I have been told by themselves.

The Chinese have no hats, caps, or turbans; but when they walk abroad, they carry a small umbrella in their hands, wherewith they defend their head from the sun or rain, by holding it over their heads. If they walk but a little way, they carry only a large fan made of paper, or silk, of the same fashion as those our ladies have, and many of them are brought over hither: one of these every man carries in his hand if he do but cross the street, screening his head with it, if he has not an umbrella with him.

The common apparel of the men, is a loose frock and breeches. They seldom wear stockings, but they have shoes, or a sort of slippers rather. The mens shoes are made diversly: they women have very small feet, and consequently but little shoes, for from their infancy their feet are kept swathed up with bands, as hard as they can possibly endure them; and from the time they can go
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till they have done growing, they bind them up every night. This they do purposely to hinder them from growing, esteeming little feet to be a great beauty. But by this unreasonable custom they do in a manner lose the use of their feet, and instead of going they only stumble about their houses, and presently squat down on their breeches again, being, as it were, confined to sit all the days of their lives. They seldom stir abroad, and one would be apt to think, that, as some have conjectured, their keeping up their fondness for this fashion, were a stratagem of the mens, to keep them from gadding and gossiping about, and confine them at home. They are kept constantly to their work, being fine needle-women, making many curious embroideries, and their own shoes; but if any stranger be desirous to bring away any for novelty's sake, he must be a great favourite to get a pair of shoes of them, tho' he give twice their value. The poorer sort of women trudge about the streets, and to market without shoes or stockings, for these cannot afford to have little feet, being to get their living with them.

The Chinese, both men and women, are very ingenious; as may appear by the many curious things that are brought from thence, especially the porcelain or China earthen-ware. The Spaniards of Manila, that we took on the coast of Luconia, told me, that this commodity is made of conch-shells, the inside of which looks like mother of pearl. But the Portuguese, lately mentioned, who had lived in China, and spoke that and the neighbouring languages very well, said, that it was made of a fine sort of clay that was dug in the province of Canton. I have often made enquiry about it, but could never be well satisfied in it; but while I was on the coast of Canton, I forgot to enquire about it.

They

They make very fine lacquer-ware also, and good silks; and are curious at painting and carving.

China affords drugs in great abundance, especially china root; but this is not peculiar to that country alone, for there is much of this root growing in Jamaica, particularly at Sixteen Mile-walk, and in the bay of Honduras it is very plentiful. There is great store of sugar made in this country; and tea in abundance is brought from thence, being much used there, and in Tonquin and Cochinchina as common drink: women sit in the streets, and sell dishes of tea hot and ready made; they call it *chau*, and even the poorest people sip it. But the tea at Tonquin or Cochinchina seems not so good, or of so pleasant a bitter, or of so fine a colour, or such virtue as this in China, for I have drank of it in these countries; unless the fault be in their way of making it, for I made none there myself; and by the high red colour it looks as if they made a decoction of it, or kept it stale. Yet at Japan I was told there is a great deal of pure tea, very good.

The Chinese are very great gamesters, and they will never be tired with it, playing night and day, till they have lost all their estates, then it is usual with them to hang themselves. This was frequently done by the Chinese factors at Manila, as I was told by Spaniards that lived there. The Spaniards themselves are much addicted to gaming, and are very expert at it, but the Chinese are too subtle for them, being in general a very cunning people.

But a particular account of them and their country would fill a volume; nor doth my short experience of them qualify me to say much of them. Wherefore I confine myself chiefly to what I observed at St. John's island, where we lay some time, and visited the shore every day to buy provision, as hogs, fowls, and buffaloe. Here was a small town
standing

standing in a wet swampy ground, with many filthy ponds amongst the houses, which were built on the ground as ours are, not on posts as at Mindanao. In these ponds were plenty of ducks; the houses were small and low, and covered with thatch, and the insides were but ill furnished, and kept nastily; and I have been told by one who was there, that most of the houses in the city of Canton itself are but poor and irregular.

The inhabitants of this village seem to be most husbandmen: they were at this time very busy in sowing their rice which is their chief commodity. The land in which they choose to sow the rice is low and wet, and when plowed the earth was like a mass of mud. They plow their land with a small plow, drawn by one buffalo, and one man both holds the plow, and drives the beast. When the rice is ripe and gathered in, they tread it out on the earth with buffaloes, in a large round place made with a hard floor fit for that purpose, where they chain three or four of these beasts, one at the tail of the other, and driving them round in a ring, as in a horse-mill, they so order it that the buffaloes may tread upon it all.

I was once ashore at this island, with seven or eight Englishmen more, and having occasion to stay some time, we killed a shote, or young porker, and and roasted it for our dinners. While we were busy dressing of our pork, one of the natives came and sat down by us, and when our dinner was ready, we cut a good piece and gave it him, which he willingly received. But by signs he begged more, and withal pointed into the woods, yet we did not understand his meaning, nor much mind him, till our hunger was pretty well asswaged, although he still made signs; and walking a little way from us, beckoned to us to come to him, which at last I did,
and

and two or three more. He going before, led the way into a small blind path, through a thicket, into a small grove of trees, in which there was an old idol temple about ten feet square; the walls of it were about six feet high, and two feet thick, made of bricks. The floor was paved with broad bricks, and in the middle of the floor stood an old rusty iron bell on its brims. This bell was about two feet high, standing flat on the ground; the brims on which it stood were about sixteen inches diameter. From the brims it tapered away a little towards the head, much like our bells; but the brims did not turn out so much as ours do. On the head of the bell there were three iron bars as big a man's arm, and about ten inches long from the top of the Bell, where the ends joined as in a center, and seemed of one mass with the bell, as if cast together. These bars stood all parallel to the ground, and their further ends (which stood triangularly and opening from each other at equal distances, like the fliers of our kitchen-jacks) were made exactly in the shape of the paw of some monstrous beast, having sharp claws on it. This it seems was their god; for as soon as our zealous guide came before the bell, he fell flat on his face, and beckoned to us, seeming very desirous to have us do the like. At the inner side of the temple, against the walls, there was an altar of white hewn stone. The table of the altar was about three feet long, sixteen inches broad, and three inches thick. It was raised about two feet from the ground, and supported by three small pillars of the same white stone. On this altar there were several small earthen vessels, one of them was full of small sticks that had been burned at one end. Our guide made a great many signs for us to fetch and to leave some of our meat there, and seemed very importunate, but we refused. We left him there and went on board: I saw no other temple nor idol here. While

While we lay at this place, we saw several small China jonks, sailing in the lagune between the islands and the main; one came and anchored by us. I and some more of our men went on board to view her; she was built with a square flat head as well as stern, only the head or fore part was not so broad as the stern. On her deck she had little thatched houses like hovels, covered with palmeto leaves, and raised about three feet high, for the seamen to creep into. She had a pretty large cabin, wherein there was an altar and a lamp burning; I did but just look in, and saw not the idol. The hold was divided in many small partitions, all of them made so tight, that if a leak should spring up in any one of them, it could go no farther, and so could do but little damage, but only to the goods in the bottom of that room where the leak springs up. Each of these rooms belong to one or two merchants, or more, and every man freights his goods in his own room, and probably lodges there, if he be on board himself. These jonks have only two masts, a main-mast and a fore-mast. The fore-mast has a square yard and a square sail, but the main-mast has a narrow sail aloft, like a sloop's sail, and in fair weather they use a top-sail, which is haled down on the deck in fowl weather, yard and all; for they do not go up to furl it. The main-mast in their biggest jonks seemed to me as big as any third rate man of war's mast in England, and yet not pierced as ours, but made of one grown tree; and in all my travels I never saw any single tree masts so big in the body, and so long, and yet so well tapered, as I have seen in the Chinese jonks.

Some of our men went over to a pretty large town on the continent of China, where we might have furnished ourselves with provision, which was a thing we were always in want of, and was our chief

chief business here ; but we were afraid to lie in this place any longer, for we had some signs of an approaching storm : this being the time of the year in which storms are expected on this coast ; and here was no safe riding. It was now the time of the year for the S. W. monsoon, but the wind had been whiffing about from one part of the compass to another, for two or three days, and sometimes it would be quite calm. This caused us to put to sea, that we might have sea-room at least ; for such flattering weather is commonly the fore-runner of a tempest.

Accordingly we weighed anchor, and set sail ; yet we had very little wind all the next night. But the day ensuing, which was the fourth day of July, about four o'clock in the afternoon, the wind came to the north east, and freshed upon us, and the sky looked very black in that quarter, and the black clouds began to rise apace and move towards us ; having hung all the morning in the horizon. This made us take in our top-sails, and the wind still increasing, about nine o'clock we reeved our main-sail and fore-sail ; at ten we furl'd our fore-sail, keeping under a main-sail and mizen. At eleven o'clock we furl'd our main-sail, and ballasted our mizen ; at which time it began to rain, and by twelve o'clock at night it blew exceeding hard, and the rain poured down as through a sieve. It thundered and lightened prodigiously, and the sea seemed all of a fire about us : for every sea that broke sparkled like lightning. The violent wind raised the sea presently to a great height, and it ran very short, and began to break in on our deck. One sea struck away the rails of our head, and our sheet anchor, which was stowed with one flook or bending of the iron, over the ships gunal, and lashed very well down to the side, was violently washed off, and

and like to have struck a hole in our bow, as it lay beating against it. Then we were forced to put right before the wind to stow our anchor again, which we did with much ado; but afterwards we durst not adventure to bring our ship to the wind again, for fear of foundering, for the turning the ship either to or from the wind is dangerous in such violent storms. The fierceness of the weather continued till four o'clock that morning, in which time we did cut away two canoes that were towing astern.

After four o'clock the thunder and the rain abated, and then we saw a corpus fant at our main-top-mast head, on the very top of the truck of the spindle. This sight rejoiced our men exceedingly, for the height of the storm is commonly over when the corpus fant is seen aloft; but when they are seen lying on the deck, it is generally accounted a bad sign.

A corpus fant is a certain small glittering light, when it appears as this did, on the very top of the main-mast or at a yard-arm, like a star, but when it appears on the deck, it resembles a great glow-worm. The Spaniards have another name for it, (though I take even this to be a Spanish or Portuguese name, and a corruption only of corpus sanctum) and I have been told that when they see them, they presently go to prayers, and bless themselves for the happy sight. I have heard some ignorant seamen discoursing how they have seen them creep, or as they say, travel about in the scuppers, telling many dismal stories that happened at such times: but I never saw any one stir out of the place where it was first fixed, except upon deck, where every sea washeth it about. Neither did I ever see any but when we have had hard rain as well as wind, and therefore do believe it is some jelly: but enough of this.

We

We continued scudding right before wind and sea from two till seven o'clock in the morning, and then the wind being much abated, we set our mizen again, and brought our ship to the wind, and lay under a mizen till eleven. Then it fell flat calm, and continued so for about two hours; but the sky looked very black and rueful, especially in the S. W. and the sea tossed us about like an egg-shell, for want of wind. About one o'clock in the afternoon the wind sprung up at south west, out of the quarter from whence we did expect it; therefore, we presently brail'd up our mizen, and wore our ship: but we had no sooner put our ship before the wind, but it blew a storm again, and rain'd very hard; though not so violently as the night before: but the wind was altogether as boisterous, and so continued till ten or eleven o'clock at night. All which time we scudded, or run before the wind very swift, though only with our bare poles, that is, without any sail abroad. Afterwards the wind died away by degrees, and before day we had but little wind, and fine clear weather.

I was never in such a violent storm in all my life, so said all the company. This was near the change of the moon: it was two or three days before the change. The sixth day in the morning, having fine handsome weather, we got up our yards again, and began to dry ourselves and our cloths, for we were all well sopt. This storm had deadned the hearts of our men so much, that instead of going to buy more provision at the same place from whence we came before the storm, or of seeking any more for the island Prata, they thought of going somewhere to shelter before the full moon, for fear of another such storm at that time: for commonly, if there is any very bad weather in the month, it is about

about two or three days before or after the full or change of the moon.

These thoughts, I say, put our men on thinking where to go, and the drafts or sea-charts being first consulted, it was concluded to go to certain islands lying in lat. 23 d. north, called Piscadores. For there was not a man on board that was any thing acquainted on these coasts; and therefore all our dependance was on the drafts, which only pointed out to us where such and such places or islands were, without giving us any account, what harbours, roads, or bays there were, or the produce, strength, or trade of them: these we were forced to seek after ourselves.

The Piscadores are a great many inhabited islands, lying near the island Formosa, between it and China, in or near the lat. of 23 d. north lat. almost as high as the tropick of Cancer. These Piscadore islands are moderately high, and appear much like our Dorsetshire and Wiltshire Downs in England. They produce thick short grafs, and a few trees. They are pretty well watered, and feed abundance of goats, and some great cattle. There are abundance of mounts and old fortifications on them, but of no use now, whatever they have been.

Between the two eastermost islands, there is a very good harbour, which is never without jonks riding in it; and on the west side of the eastermost island there is a large town and fort commanding the harbour. The houses are but low, yet well built; and the town makes a fine prospect. This is a garrison of the Tartars, wherein are also three or four hundred soldiers, who live here three years, and then they are removed to some other place.

On the island, on the west side of the harbour, close by the sea, there is a small town of Chinese,
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and most of the other islands have some Chinese living on them, more or less.

Having, as I said before, concluded to go to these islands, we steered away for them, having the wind at W. S. W. a small gale. The 20th day of July we had first sight of them, and steered in among them, finding no place to anchor in till we came into the harbour before-mentioned. We blundered in knowing little of our way, and admired to see so many jonks going and coming, and some at an anchor, and so great a town as the neighbouring eastermost town, the Tartarian garrison; for we did not expect, nor desire, to have seen any people, being in care to lie concealed in these seas; however, seeing we were here, we boldly run into the harbour, and presently sent ashore our canoe to the town.

Our people were met by an officer at their landing; and our quarter-master, who was the chief man in the boat, was conducted before the governor and examined of what nation we were, and what was our business here. He answered that we were English, and were bound to Amoy, or Anhay, which is a city standing on a navigable river in the province of Fokien in China, and is a place of vast trade, there being a huge multitude of ships there, and in general on all these coasts, as I have heard of several that have been there. He said also, that having received some damage by a storm, we therefore but in here to refit, before we could venture to go further; and that we intended to lie here till after the full moon, for fear of another storm. The governor told him, that we might better refit our ship at Amoy than here, and that he heard that two English vessels were arrived there already, and that he should be very ready to assist us in any thing, but we must not expect to trade there, but must go

go to the places allowed to entertain merchant strangers, which were Amoy and Macao. Macao is a town of great trade also, lying in an island at the very mouth of the river of Canton. 'Tis fortified and garrisoned by a large Portuguese colony, but yet under the Chinese governor, whose people inhabit one moiety of the town, and lay on the Portuguese what tax they please; for they dare not disoblige the Chinese for fear of losing their trade. However, the governor very kindly told our quarter-master, that whatsoever we wanted, if that place could furnish us, we should have it. Yet that we must not come ashore on that island, but he would send on board some of his men, to know what we wanted, and they should also bring it off to us. That nevertheless we might go on shore on other islands to buy refreshments of the Chinese. After the discourse was ended, the governor dismissed him, with a small jar of flour, and three or four cakes of very fine bread, and about a dozen pine-apples and water-melons (all very good in their kind) as a present to the captain.

They next day an eminent officer came on board, with a great many attendants. He wore a black silk cap of a particular make, with a plume of black and white feathers, standing up almost round his head behind, and all his outside cloaths were black silk. He had a loose black coat which reached to his knees, and his breeches were of the same; underneath his coat he had two garments more, of other coloured silk. His legs were covered with small black limber boots. All his attendants were in a very handsome garb of black silk, all wearing those small black boots and caps. These caps were like the crown of a hat made of palmeto-leaves, like our straw hats, but without brims, and coming down but to their ears. These had no feathers, but had an oblong button on the top, and from

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between

between the button and the cap, there fell down all round their head as low as the cap reached, a sort of coarse hair like horse-hair, died (as I suppose) of a light red colour.

The officer brought on board, as a present from the governor, a young heifer, the fattest and kindest beef, that I ever tasted in a foreign country. It was small yet full grown; two large hogs, four goats, two baskets of fine flour, twenty great flat cakes of fine well tasted bread, two great jars of arack made of rice as I judged, called by the Chinese, sam shu; and fifty five jars of hoc shu, as they call it, and our Europeans from them. This is a strong liquor, made of wheat as I have been told. It looks like mum, tastes much like it, and it is very pleasant and hearty. Our seamen love it mightily, and will lick their lips with it; for scarce a ship goes to China, but the men come home fat with soaking this liquor, and bring store of jars of it home with them. It is put into small white thick jars, that hold near a quart; the double jars hold about two quarts. These jars are small below, and thence rise up with a pretty full belly, closing in pretty short at top, with a small thick mouth. Over the mouth of the jar they put a thin chip cut round so as to cover the mouth, over that a piece of paper, and over that they put a great lump of clay, almost as big as the bottle or jar itself, with a hollow in it, to admit the neck of the bottle, made round, and about four inches long; this is to preserve the liquor. If the liquor take any vent it will be four presently, so that when we buy any of it, of the ships from China returning to Maderas, or Fort St. George, where it is then sold, or of the Chinese themselves, of whom I have bought it at Achin, and Bencouli in Sumatra, if the clay be crack'd, or the liquor mothery, we make them take it again. A quart jar there is worth

worth six-pence. Besides this present from the governor, there was a captain of a jonk sent two jars of arack, and abundance of pine-apples, and water-melons.

Captain Read sent ashore, as a present to the governor, a curious Spanish silver-hilted rapier, an English carbine, and a gold chain, and when the officer went ashore, three guns were fired. In the afternoon the governor sent off the same officer again, to complement the captain for his civility, and promised to retaliate his kindness before we departed; but we had such blustering weather afterward, that no boat could come on board.

We staid here till the 29th day, and then sailed from hence with the wind at S. W. and pretty fair weather. We now directed our course for some islands we had chosen to go to, that lie between Formosa and Luconia. They are laid down in our plots without any name, only with a figure of 5, denoting the number of them. It was supposed by us, that these islands had no inhabitants, because they had not any name by our hydrographers. Therefore we thought to lie there secure, and be pretty near the island Luconia, which we still intended to visit.

In going to them we sailed by the south west end of Formosa, leaving it on our larboard side. This is a large island; the south end is in lat. 21 d. 20 m. and the north end in 25 d. 10 m. north lat. the longitude of this isle is laid down from 142 d. 5 m. to 143 d. 16 m. reckoning east from the pike of Teneriffe; so that it is but narrow, and the tropic of Cancer crosses it. It is a high and woody island, was formerly well inhabited by the Chinese, and was then frequently visited by English merchants, there being a very good harbour to secure their ships; but since the Tartars have conquered China,

they have spoiled the harbour, as I have been informed, to hinder the Chinese that were then in rebellion, from fortifying themselves there, and ordered the foreign merchants to come and trade on the main.

The 6th day of August we arrived at the five islands that we were bound to, and anchored on the east side of the northermost island, in fifteen fathom, a cable's length from the shore. Here, contrary to our expectation, we found abundance of inhabitants in sight; for there were three large towns all within a league of the sea, and another larger town than any of the three, on the backside of a small hill close by also, as we found afterwards. These islands lie in lat. 20 d. 20 m. north lat. by my observation, for I took it there, and I find their longitude according to our drafts, to be 141 deg. 50 m. These islands having no particular names in the drafts, some or other of us made use of the seaman's privilege, to give them what names we pleased. Three of the islands were pretty large, the westernmost is the biggest. This the Dutchmen who were among us called the Prince of Orange's island, in honour of his present majesty. It is about seven or eight leagues long, and about two leagues wide, and lies almost north and south. The other two great islands are about four or five leagues to the eastward of this. The northermost of them, where we first anchored, I called the duke of Grafton's isle, as soon as we landed on it; having married my wife out of his dutchess's family, and leaving her at Arlington house, at my going abroad. This isle is about four leagues long, and one league and a half wide, stretching north and south. The other great isle our seamen called the duke of Monmouth's island. This is about a league to the southward of Grafton isle. It is about three leagues long,

long, and a league wide, lying as the other. Between Monmouth and the south end of Orange isle, there are two small islands of a roundish form, lying east and west. The eastermost island of the two, our men unanimously called Bashee island, from a liquor which we drank there plentifully every day, after we came to an anchor at it. The other, which is the smallest of all, we called Goat island, from the great number of goats there; and to the northward of them all, are two high rocks.

Orange island, which is the biggest of them all, is not inhabited. It is high land, flat, and even on the top, with steep cliffs against the sea; for which reason we could not go ashore there, as we did on all the rest.

I have made it my general observation, that where the land is fenced with steep rocks and cliffs against the sea, there the sea is very deep, and seldom affords anchor ground; and on the other side where the land falls away with a declivity into the sea, (altho' the land be extraordinary high within, yet) there are commonly good soundings, and consequently anchoring; and as the visible declivity of the land appears near, or at the edge of the water, whether pretty steep, or more sloping, so we commonly find our anchor ground to be more or less deep or steep; therefore we come nearer the shore, or anchor farther off, as we see convenient; for there is no coast in the world, that I know or have heard of, where the land is of a continual height, without some small valleys or declivities, which lie intermixt with the high land. They are the subsidings of valleys or low lands, that make dents in the shore and creeks, small bays and harbours, or little coves, &c. which afford good anchoring, the surface of the earth being there lodged deep under water. Thus we find many good harbours, on such

coasts, where the land bounds the sea with steep cliffs, by reason of the declivities, or subsiding of the land between these cliffs; but where the declension from the hills or cliffs, is not within land, between hill and hill, but, as on the coast of Chili and Peru, the declivity is toward the main sea, or into it, the coast being perpendicular, or very steep from the neighbouring hills, as in those countries from the Andes, that run along the shore, there is a deep sea, and few or no harbours or creeks. All that coast is too steep for anchoring, and hath the fewest roads fit for ships of any coast I know. The coasts of Galicia, Portugal, Norway, and Newfoundland, &c. are coasts like the Peruvian, and the high islands of the Archipelago; but yet not so scanty of good harbours; for where there are short ridges of land, there are good bays at the extremities of those ridges, where they plunge into the sea; as on the coast of Caraccas, &c. the island of Juan Fernandes and the island St. Helena, &c. are such high land with deep shore; and in general, the plunging of any land under water, seems to be in proportion to the rising of its continuous part above water, more or less steep; and it must be a bottom almost level, or very gently declining, that affords good anchoring, ships being soon driven from their moorings on a steep bank; therefore we never strive to anchor where we see the land high, and bounding the sea with steep cliffs; and for this reason, when we came in sight of States island near Terra del Fuego, before we entered into the fourth seas, we did not so much as think of anchoring after we saw what land it was, because of the steep cliffs which appeared against the sea; yet there might be little harbours or coves for shallops, or the like, to anchor in, which we did not see or search after.

As high steep cliffs bounding on the sea have this ill consequence, that they seldom afford anchoring, so they have this benefit, that we can see them far off, and sail close to them, without danger; for which reason we call them bold shores, whereas low land, on the contrary, is seen but a little way, and in many places we dare not come near it, for fear of running aground before we see it. Besides, there are in many places shoals thrown out by the course of great rivers, that from the low land fall into the sea.

This which I have said, that there is usually good anchoring near low lands, may be illustrated by several instances. Thus on the south side of the Bay of Campeachy, there is mostly low land, and there also is good anchoring all along shore, and in some places to the eastward of the town of Campeachy, we shall have so many fathom as we are leagues off from land, that is, from nine or ten leagues distance, till you come within four leagues, and from thence to land it grows shallower. The bay of Honduras also is low land, and continues mostly so, as we passed along from thence to the coast of Portobello and Carthagena, till we came as high as Santa Martha, afterwards the land is low again, till you come towards the coast of Caraccas, which is a high coast and bold shore. The land about Surinam on the same coast is low and good anchoring, and that over on the coast of Guinea is such also. And such too is the bay of Panama, where the pilot-book orders the pilot always to sound, and not to come within such a depth, be it by night or day. In the same seas, from the land of Guatimala in Mexico, to California, there is mostly low land and good anchoring. In the main of Asia, the coast of China, the bays Siam and Bengal, and all the coast of Coromandel, and the coast about Malacca, and
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against it the island Sumatra, on that side, are mostly low anchoring shores. But on the west side of Sumatra, the shore is high and bold, so most of the islands lying to the eastward of Sumatra, as the islands Borneo, Celebes, Gilolo, and abundance of islands of less note, lying scattering up and down those seas, are low land and have good anchoring about them, with many shoals scattered to and fro among them; but the islands lying against the East Indian ocean, especially the west sides of them, are high land and steep, particularly the west parts, not only of Sumatra, but also of Java, Timor, &c. Particulars are endless, but in general, it is seldom but high shores and deep waters, and on the other side, low land and shallow seas, are found together.

But to return from this digression, to speak of the rest of these islands. Monmouth and Grafton isles are very hilly, with many of those steep inhabited precipices on them, that I shall describe particularly. The two small islands are flat and even, only the Bashee island hath one steep craggy hill, but Goat island is all flat and very even.

The mold of these islands in the valley, is blackish in some places, but in most red. The hills are very rocky: the vallies are well watered with brooks of fresh water, which run into the sea in many different places. The soil is indifferent fruitful, especially in the vallies; producing pretty great plenty of trees (though not very big) and thick grass. The sides of the mountains have also short grass; and some of the mountains have mines within them, for the natives told us, that the yellow metal they shewed us, (as I shall speak more particularly) came from these mountains, for when they held it up they pointed towards them.

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The fruit of the islands are a few plantains, bonanoes, pine-apples, pumpions, sugar canes, &c. and there might be more if the natives would, for the ground seems fertile enough. Here are great plenty of potatoes, and yams, which is the common food of the natives, for bread kind: for those few plantains they have, are only used as fruit. They have some cotton growing here of the small plants.

Here are plenty of goats, and abundance of hogs, but few fowls, either wild or tame. For this I have always observed in my travels, both in the East and West Indies, that in those places where there is plenty of grain, that is, of rice in one, and maize in the other, there are also found great abundance of fowls, but on the contrary, few fowls in those countries where the inhabitants feed on fruits and roots only. The few wild fowls that are here, are parakeetes, and some other small birds. Their tame fowl are only a few cocks and hens.

Monmouth and Grafton islands are very thick inhabited: and Bashee island hath one town on it. The natives of these islands are short squat people; they are generally round visaged, with low foreheads, and thick eye-brows, their eyes of a hazel colour, and small, yet bigger than the Chinese, short low noses, and their lips and mouths middle proportioned. Their teeth are white, their hair is black, thick, and lank, which they wear but short, it will just cover their ears, and so it is cut round very even. Their skins are of a very dark copper colour.

They wear no hat, cap, nor turban, nor any thing to keep off the sun. The men for the most part have only a small clout to cover their nakedness, some of them have jackets made of plantain leaves, which were as rough as any bear's skin; I
never

never saw such rugged things. The women have a short petticoat made of cotton, which comes a little below their knees. It is a thick sort of stubborn cloth, which they make themselves of their cotton. Both men and women wear large ear-rings, made of that yellow metal before mentioned. Whether it were gold or no I cannot positively say: I took it to be so, it was heavy, and of the colour of our paler gold. I would fain have brought away some to have satisfied my curiosity; but I had nothing wherewith to buy any. Captain Read bought two of these rings with some iron, of which the people are very fond; and he would have bought more, thinking he was come to a very fair market, but that the paleness of the metal made him and his crew distrust its being right gold. For my part, I should have ventured on the purchase of some, but having no property in the iron, of which we had great store on board, sent from England, by the merchants along with captain Swan, I durst not barter it away.

These rings, when first polished, look very gloriously, but time makes them fade, and turn to a pale yellow; then they make a soft paste of red earth, and smearing it over their rings, they cast them into a quick fire, where they remain till they be red hot; then they take them out and cool them in water, and rub off the paste, and they look again of a glorious colour and lustre.

These people make but small low houses. The sides, which are made of small posts, watted with boughs, are not above four feet and an half high. They have a fire place at one end of their houses, and boards placed on the ground to lie on. They inhabit together in small villages, built on the sides and tops of rocky hills, three or four rows of houses one above another, and on such steep precipices, that
they

they go up to the first row with a wooden ladder, and so with a ladder still from every story up to that above it, there being no way to ascend. The plain on the first precipice may be so wide, as to have room both for a row of houses that stand all along on the edge or brink of it, and a very narrow street running along before their doors, between the row of houses and the foot of the next precipice, the plain of which is in a manner level to the tops of the houses below, and so for the rest. The common ladder to each row or street comes up at a narrow passage left purposely about the middle of it; and the street being bounded with a precipice also at each end, it is but drawing up the ladder, if they be assaulted, and then there is no coming at them from below, but by climbing up as against a perpendicular wall; and that they may not be assaulted from above, they take care to build on the side of such a hill, whose backside hangs over the sea, or is some high, steep, perpendicular precipice, altogether inaccessible. These precipices are natural, for the rocks seem too hard to work on, nor is there any sign that art hath been employed about them. On Bashee island there is one such, and built upon, with its back next the sea. Grafton and Monmouth isles are very thick set with these hills and towns; and the natives, whether for fear of pirates, or foreign enemies, or factions among their own clans, care not for building but in these fastnesses; which I take to be the reason that Orange isle, though the largest, and as fertile as any, yet being level, and exposed, hath no inhabitants. I never saw the like precipices and towns.

These people are pretty ingenious also in building boats. Their small boats are much like our Deal yawls, but not so big; and they build with very narrow plank, pinn'd with wooden pins, and
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some nails. They have also some pretty large boats, which will carry forty or fifty men. These they row with twelve or fourteen oars of a side. They are built much like the small ones, and they row double banked; that is, two men sitting on one bench, but one rowing on one side, and the other on the other side of the boat. They understand the use of iron, and work it themselves. Their bellows are like those at Mindanao.

The common employment for the men is fishing, but I never saw them catch much; whether it is more plenty at other times of the year I know not. The women manage their plantations.

I never saw them kill any of their goats or hogs for themselves, yet they would beg the panches of the goats that they themselves sold to us; and if any of our surly seamen heaved them into the sea, they would take them up again and the skins of the goats also. They would not meddle with hogsguts, if our men threw away any besides what they made chitterlings and sausages of. The goat-skins these people would carry ashore, and making a fire they would singe off all the hair, and afterwards let the skin lie and parch on the coals, till they thought it eatable; and then they would gnaw it, and tear it in pieces with their teeth, and at last swallow it. The paunches of the goats would make them an excellent dish: they dressed it in this manner. They would turn out all the chopt grass and crudities found in the maw into their pots, and set it over the fire, and stir it about often: this would smoak and puff, and heave up as it were boiling; wind breaking out of the ferment, and making a very savory stink. While this was doing, if they had any fish, as commonly they had two or three small fish, these they would make very clean (as hating nastiness belike) and cut the flesh from the bone, then

then mince the flesh as small as possibly they could, and when that in the pot was well boiled, they would take it up, and strewing a little salt into it, they would eat it, mixed with their raw minced flesh. The dung in the maw would look like so much boiled herbs minced very small, and they took up their mess with their fingers, as the Moors do their pilaw, using no spoons.

They had another dish made of a sort of locusts, whose bodies were about an inch and an half long, and as thick as the top of one's little finger, with large thin wings, and long and small legs. At this time of the year these creature came in great swarms to devour their potatoe-leaves, and other herbs; and the natives would go out with small nets, and take a quart at one sweep. When they had enough, they would carry them home, and parch them over the fire in an earthen pan, and then their wings and legs would fall off, and their heads and backs would turn red like boiled shrimps, being before brownish. Their bodies being full, would eat very moist, their heads would crackle in ones teeth. I did once eat of this dish, and liked it well enough: but their other dish my stomach would not take.

Their common drink is water; as it is of all other Indians; besides which they make a sort of drink with the juice of the sugar-cane, which they boil, and put some small black sort of berries among it. When it is well boiled, they put it into great jars, and let it stand three or four days to work. Then it settles, and becomes clear, and is presently fit to drink. This is an excellent liquor, and very much like English beer, both in colour and taste. It is very strong, and I do believe very wholesome; for our men, who drank briskly of it all day for several weeks, were frequently drunk
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with it, and never sick after it. The natives brought a vast deal of it every day to those on board and ashore; for some of our men were ashore at work on Bashee island; which island they gave that name to from their drinking this liquor there; that being the name which the natives call'd this liquor by; and as they sold it to our men very cheap, so they did not spare to drink it as freely. And indeed from the plenty of this liquor, and their plentiful use of it, our men called all these islands, the Bashee islands.

What language these people speak I know not, for it had no affinity in sound to the Chinese, which is spoken much through the teeth; nor yet to the Malayan language. They called the metal that their ear-rings were made of bullawan, which is the Mindanao word for gold; therefore probably they may be related to the Philippine Indians: for that is the general name for gold among all those Indians. I could not learn from whence they have their iron: but it is most likely they go in their great boats to the north end of Luconia, and trade with the Indians of that island for it. Neither did I see any thing besides iron, and pieces of buffaloes hides, which I could judge that they bought of strangers: their cloths were of their own growth and manufacture.

These men had wooden lances, and a few lances headed with iron; which are all the weapons they have. Their armour is a piece of buffaloe-hide, shaped like our carters frocks, being without sleeves, and sowed both sides together, with holes for the head and the arms to come forth. This buff-coat reaches down to their knees: it is close about their shoulders, but below it is three feet wide, and as thick as a board.

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I could never perceive them to worship any thing, neither had they any idols : neither did they seem to observe any one day more than other. I could never perceive that one man was of greater power than another ; but they seemed to be all equal : only every man ruling in his own house, and the children respecting and honouring their parents.

Yet 'tis probable that they have some law, or custom, by which they are governed : for while we lay here, we saw a young man buried alive in the earth ; and it was for theft, as far as we could understand from them. There was a great deep hole dug, and abundance of people came to the place to take their last farewell of him : among the rest, there was one woman who made great lamentation, and took off the condemned persons ear-rings. We supposed her to be his mother. After he had taken his leave of her and some others, he was put into the pit, and covered over with earth. He did not struggle, but yielded very quietly to his punishment : and they crammed the earth close upon him, and stifled him.

They have but one wife, with whom they live and agree very well ; and their children live very obediently under them. The boys go out a fishing with their fathers, and the girls live at home with their mothers : and when the girls are grown pretty strong, they send them to their plantations, to dig yams and potatoes ; of which they bring home on their heads every day, enough to serve the whole family ; for they have no rice nor maize.

Their plantations are in the vallies, at a good distance from their houses, where every man has a certain spot of land, which is properly his own. This he manages as himself for his own use, and

provides enough, that he may not be beholding to his neighbour.

Notwithstanding the seeming nastiness of their dish of goats maw, they are in their persons a very neat cleanly people, both men and women: And they are withal the quietest and civilest people that I ever met with. I could never perceive them to be angry with one another. I have admired to see twenty or thirty boats on board our ship at a time, and yet no difference among them; but all civil and quiet, endeavouring to help each other on occasion: no noise, nor appearance of distaste; and although sometimes cross accidents would happen, which might have set other men together by the ears, yet they were not moved by them. Sometimes they will also drink freely, and warm themselves with their drink, yet neither then could I ever perceive them out of humour. They are not only thus civil among themselves, but very obliging and kind to stranger; nor were their children rude to us, as is usual. Indeed the women, when we came to their houses, would modestly beg any rags, or small pieces of cloth, to swaddle their young ones in, holding out their children to us; and begging is usual among all these wild nations. Yet neither did they beg so importunately as in other places, nor did the men ever beg any thing at all. Neither, except once at the first time that we came to an anchor, (as I shall relate) did they steal any thing, but deal justly, and with great sincerity with us; and make us very welcome to their houses with Bashee drink. If they had none of this liquor themselves, they would buy a jar of drink of their neighbours, and sit down with us; for we could see them go and give a piece or two of their gold for some jars of Bashee. And indeed among wild Indians, as these seem to be, I wondered to see buying and selling,

selling, which is not so usual, nor to converse so freely, as to go on board stranger's ships with so little caution: yet their own small trading may have brought them to this. At these entertainments, they and their family, wife and children drank out of small callabashes; and when by themselves, they drink about from one to another, but when any of us came among them, then they would always drink to one of us.

They have no sort of coin; but they have small crumbs of the metal before described, which they bind up very safe in plantain leaves, or the like. This metal they exchange for what they want, giving a small quantity of it, about two or three grains, for a jar of drink, that would hold five or six gallons. They have no scales, but give it by guess. Thus much in general.

To proceed therefore with our affairs, I have said before, that we anchored here the 6th day of August. While we were furling our sails, there came near one hundred boats of the natives aboard, with three or four men in each; so that our deck was full of men. We were at first afraid of them, and therefore got up twenty or thirty small arms on our poop, and kept three or four men as centinels, with their guns in their hands, ready to fire on them if they had offered to molest us. But they were pretty quiet, only they pick'd up such old iron as they found on our deck, and they also took out our pump-bolts, and linch-pins out of the carriages of our guns, before we perceived them. At last, one of our men perceived them very busy getting out one of our linch pins, and took hold of the fellow who immediately bawl'd out, and all the rest presently leap'd overboard, some into their boats, others into the sea, and all made away for the shore. But when we perceived

their fright, we made much of him that was in hold, who stood trembling all the while; and at last we gave him a small piece of iron, with which he immediately leap'd overboard, and swam to his comforts, who hovered about our ship to see the issue. Then we beckoned to them to come on board again, being very loth to lose a commerce with them. Some of the boats came on board again, and they were always very honest and civil afterwards.

We presently after this sent a canoe ashore, to see their manner of living, and what provision they had: the canoe's crew were made very welcome with bashee drink, and saw abundance of hogs, some of which they bought, and returned on board. After this the natives brought on board both hogs and goats to us in their own boats; and every day we should have fifteen or twenty hogs and goats in boats on board by our side. These we bought for a small matter: we could buy a good fat goat for an old iron hoop, and a hog of seventy or eighty pounds weight for two or three pounds of iron. Their drink also they brought off in jars, which we bought for old nails, spikes, and leaden bullets. Beside the forementioned commodities, they brought on board great quantities of yams and potatoes, which we purchased for nails, spikes, or bullets. It was one man's work to be all day cutting out bars of iron into small pieces with a cold chissel; and these were for the great purchases of hogs and goats, which they would not sell for nails, as their drink and roots. We never let them know what store we have, that they may value it the more. Every morning, as soon as it was light, they would thus come on board with their commodities, which we bought as we had occasion. We commonly furnished ourselves with as many goats and roots as
served

served us all the day, and their hogs we bought in large quantities, as we thought convenient; for we salted them. Their hogs were very sweet; but I never saw so many meazled ones.

We filled all our water at a curious brook close by us in Grafton's isle, where we first anchored. We staid there about three or four days, before we went to other islands. We sailed to the southward, passing on the east side of Grafton island, and then through, between that and Monmouth island; but we found no anchoring till we came to the north end of Monmouth island, and there we stopped during one tide. The tide runs very strong here, and sometimes makes a short chopping sea. Its course amongst these islands is south by east, and north by west. The flood sets to the north, and ebb to the south, and it rises and falls eight feet.

When we went from hence, we coasted about two leagues to the southward, on the west side of Monmouth island; and finding no anchor ground, we stood over to Bashee island, and came to an anchor on the north east part of it, against a small sandy bay, in seven fathom clean hard sand, and about a quarter of a mile from the shore. Here is a pretty wide channel between these two islands, and anchoring all over it. The depth of water is twelve, fourteen, and sixteen fathoms.

We presently built a tent ashore, to mend our sails in, and staid all the rest of our time here, viz. from the 13th day of August till the 26th day of September. In which time we mended our sails, and scrubbed our ship's bottom very well; and every day some of us went to their towns, and were kindly entertained by them. Their boats also came on board with their merchandise to sell, and lay on board all day; and if we did not take it off

their hands one day, they would bring the same again the next.

We had yet the winds at S. W. and south south west mostly fair weather. In October we expected the winds to shift to the N. E. and therefore we provided to sail (as soon as the eastern monsoon was settled) to cruize off of Manila. Accordingly we provided a stock of provision. We salted seventy or eighty good fat hogs, and bought yams and potatoes good store to eat at sea.

About the 24th day of September, the winds shifted about to the East, and from thence to the N. E. fine fair weather. The 25th it came at N. and began to grow fresh, and the sky began to be clouded, and the wind freshened on us.

At twelve o'clock at night it blew a very fierce storm. We were then riding with our best bower a head, and though our yards and top-mast were down, yet we drove. This obliged us to let go our sheet anchor, veering out a good scope of cable, which stopped us till ten or eleven o'clock the next day. Then the wind came on so fierce, that she drove again, with both anchors ahead. The wind was now at N. by W. and we kept driving till three or four o'clock in the afternoon; and it was well for us that there were no islands, rocks or sands in our way, for if there had, we must have been driven upon them. We used our utmost endeavours to stop here, being loath to go to sea, because we had six of our men ashore, who could not now get off. At last we were driven out into deep water, and then it was in vain to wait any longer: Therefore we hove in our sheet cable, and got up our sheet anchor, and cut away our best bower, for to have heav'd her up then would have gone near to have foundered us) and so put to sea. We had very violent weather the night ensuing, with very hard

hard rain, and we were forced to scud with our bare poles till three o'clock in the morning. Then the wind slackened, and we brought our ship to, under a mizen, and lay with our head to the westward. The 27th day the wind abated much, but it rained very hard all day, and the night ensuing. The 28th day the wind came about to the north east, and it cleared up, and blew a hard gale, but it stood not there, for it shifted about to the eastward, thence to the south east, then to the south, and at last settled at south west, and then we had a moderate gale and fair weather.

It was the 29th day when the wind came to the south west. Then we made all the sail we could for the island again. The 30th day we had the wind at west, and saw the islands; but could not get in before night. Therefore we stood off to the southward till two o'clock in the morning; then we tacked, and stood in all the morning, and about twelve o'clock, the first day of October, we anchored again at the place from whence we were driven.

Then our six men were brought on board by the natives, to whom we gave three whole bars of iron, for their kindness and civility, which was an extraordinary present to them. Mr. Robert Hall, was one of the men that was left ashore. I shall speak more of him hereafter. He and the rest of them told me, that after the ship was out of sight, the natives began to be more kind to them than they had been before, and persuaded them to cut their hair short, as theirs was, offering to each of them if they would do it, a young woman to wife, and a small hatchet, and other iron utensils, fit for a planter, in dowry; and withal shewed them a piece of land for them to manage. They were courted thus by several of the town where they then were: but they took up their head quarters at the house of

him with whom they first went ashore. When the ship appeared in sight again, then they importuned them for some iron, which is the chief thing that they covet, even above their ear-rings. We might have bought all their ear-rings, or other gold they had, with our iron bars, had we been assured of its goodness: and yet when it was touched, and compared with other gold, we could not discern any difference, though it looked so pale in the lump: but the seeing them polish it so often, was a new discouragement.

This last storm put our men quite of heart: for although it was not altogether so fierce as that which we were in on the coast of China, which was still fresh in memory, yet it wrought more powerfully, and frightened them from their design of cruising before Manila, tearing another storm there. Now every man wished himself at home, as they had done an hundred times before: but captain Read, and captain Teat the master, persuaded them to go towards Cape Comorin, and then they would tell them more of their minds, intending doubtless to cruize in the Red Sea, and they easily prevailed with the crew.

The eastern monsoon was now at hand, and the best way had been to go through the streights of Malacca: but captain Teat said it was dangerous, by reason of many islands and shoals there, with which none of us were acquainted. Therefore he thought it best to go round on the east side of all the Philippine islands, and so keeping south towards the Spice islands, to pass out into the East Indian ocean about the island Timor.

This seemed to be a very tedious way about, and as dangerous altogether for shoals; but not for meeting with English or Dutch ships, which was their greatest fear. I was well enough satisfied, knowing

knowing that the farther we went, the more knowledge and experience I should get, which was the main thing that I regarded ; and should also have the more variety of places to attempt an escape from them, being fully resolved to take the first opportunity of giving them the slip.

CHAP. XXIII.

They depart from the Bashee islands, and coasting along Luconia, Mindanao, and other of the Philippines, touching at the isle Celebes and Bouton, they arrive at New Holland.

THE third day of October, 1687, we sailed from these islands, standing to the southward, intending to sail through among the spice islands. We had fair weather, and the wind at west. We first steered S. S. W. and passed close by certain small islands that lie just by the north end of the island Luconia. We left them all on the west of us, and past on the east side of it, and the rest of the Philippine islands, coasting to the southward.

The north east end of the island Luconia appears to be good champaign land, of an indifferent height, plain and even for many leagues ; only it has some pretty high hills standing upright by themselves in these plains : but no ridges of hills, or chains of mountains joining one to another. The land on this side seems to be most savannah, or pasture : the S. E. part is more mountainous and woody.

Leaving the island Luconia, and with it our golden projects, we sailed southward, passing on the east side of the rest of the Philippine islands. These appears to be more mountainous, and less woody, till we came in sight of the island St. John ; the first of that name I mentioned : the other I spake of on the coast of China. This I have already described

scribed to be a very woody island. Here the wind coming southerly, forced us to keep farther from the islands.

The 14th day of October we came close by a small low woody island, that lieth east from the south east end of Mindanao, distant from it about twenty leagues. I do not find it set down in any sea chart.

The 15th day we had the wind at north east, and we steered west for the island Mindanao, and arrived at the south east end again on the 16th day. There we went in and anchored between two small islands, which lie in about 5 d. 10 m. north latitude. I mentioned them when we first came on this coast. Here we found a fine small cove, on the north west end of the eastermost island, fit to careen in, or hale ashore: so we went in there, and presently unrigged our ship, and provided to hale our ship ashore, to clean her bottom. These islands are about three or four leagues from the island Mindanao: they are about four or five leagues in circumference, and of a pretty good height. The mold is black and deep; and there are two small brooks of fresh water.

They are both plentifully stored with great high trees: therefore our carpenters were sent ashore to cut down some of them for our use; for here they made a new bolt-sprit, which we set here also, our old one being very faulty. They made a new fore-yard too, and a fore-top-mast: and our pumps being faulty, and not serviceable, they cut a tree to make a pump. They first squared it, then sawed it in the middle, and then hollowed each side exactly to the making a tight cylinder for the pump-box, being unaccustomed to such work. We learned this way of pump-making from the Spaniards; who make the pumps they use in their ships in the south

south seas after this manner : and I am confident that there are no better hand-pumps in the world than they have.

While we lay here, the young prince that I mentioned in chapter 20th, came on board. He understanding that we were bound farther to the southward, desired us to transport him and his men to his own island. He shewed it to us in our draft, and told us the name of it : which we put down in our draft, for it was not named there : but I quite forgot to put it into my journal.

This man told us, that not above six days before this, he saw captain Swan, and several of his men that we left there, and named the names of some of them, who, he said were all well, and that now they were at the city of Mindanao : but that they had been all of them out with Raja Laut, fighting under him in his wars against his enemies the Alfoores : and that most of them fought with undaunted courage ; for which they were highly honoured and esteemed, as well by the sultan, as by the general, Raja Laut : that now captain Swan intended to go with his men to fort St. George, and that in order thereto, he had proffered forty ounces of gold for a ship ; but the owner and he were not yet agreed : and that he feared that the sultan would not let him go away till the wars were ended.

All this the prince told us in the Malayan tongue, which many of us had learned ; and when he went away he promised to return to us again in three days time, and so long captain Read promised to stay for him (for we had now almost finished our business) and he seemed very glad of the opportunity of going with us.

After this I endeavoured to persuade our men, to return with the ship to the river of Mindanao,
and

and offer their service again to captain Swan. I took an opportunity when they were filling of water, there being then half the ships company ashore: and I found these all very willing to do it. I desired them to say nothing, till I had tried the minds of the other half, which I intended to do the next day; it being their turn to fill water then: but one of these men, who seemed most forward to invite back captain Swan, told captain Read and captain Teat of the project, and they presently dissuaded the men from any such designs. Yet fearing the worst, they made all possible haste to be gone.

I have since been informed, that captain Swan and his men staid there a great while afterwards: and that many of the men got passage from thence in Dutch sloops to Ternate, particularly Mr. Rofy, and Mr. Nelly. There they remained a great while, and at last got to Batavia (where the Dutch took their journals from them) and so to Europe; and that some of captain Swan's men died at Mindanao, of which number Mr. Harthope, and Mr. Smith, captain Swan's merchants were two. At last captain Swan and his surgeon going in a small canoe on board of a Dutch ship then in the road, in order to get a passage to Europe, were overset by the natives at the mouth of the river; who waited their coming purposely to do it, but suspected by them: where they both were killed in the water. This was done by the general's order, as some think, to get his gold, which he immediately seized on. Others say, it was because the general's house was burnt a little before, and captain Swan was suspected to be the author of it; and others say, that it was captain Swan's threats occasioned his own ruin; for he would often say passionately, that he had been abused by the general, and that he would have satisfaction for it; saying also that now he was well acquaint-

acquainted with their rivers, and knew how to come in at any time, that he also knew their manner of fighting, and the weakness of their country; and therefore he would go away, and get a band of men to assist him, and return thither again, he would spoil and take all that they had, and their country too. When the general has been informed of these discourses, he would say, what, is captain Swan made of iron, and able to resist a whole kingdom? or does he think that we are afraid of him, that he speaks thus? yet did he never touch him, till now the Mindanaians killed him. It is very probable there might be somewhat of truth in all this; for the captain was passionate, and the general greedy of gold. But whatever was the occasion, so he was killed, as several has assured me, and his gold seized on, and all his things; and his journal also from England, as far as Cape Corientes on the coast of Mexico. This journal was afterwards sent away from thence by Mr. Moody (who was there both a little before and a little after the murder) and he sent it to England by Mr. Goddard, chief mate of the Defence.

But to our purpose; seeing I could not persuade them to go to captain Swan again, I had a great desire to have had the Prince's company: but captain Read was afraid to let his fickle crew lie long. That very day that the prince had promised to return to us, which was November 2d, 1687, we sailed hence, directing our course south west, and having the wind at N. W.

This wind continued till we came in sight of the island Celebes; then it veered about to the west and to the southward of the west. We came up with the north east end of the island Celebes the ninth day, and there we found the current setting
to

to the westward so strongly, that we could hardly get on the east side of that island.

The island Celebes is a very large island, extended length from north to south, about seven degrees of latitude, and in breadth it is about three degrees. It lies under the equator, the north end being in lat. 1 d. 30 m. north, and the south end in lat. 5 d. 30 m. south, and by common account the north point in the bulk of this island, lies nearest north and south, but at the north east end there runs out a long narrow point, stretching north east, about thirty leagues; and about thirty leagues to the eastward of this long slip, is the island Gilolo, on the west side of which are four small islands, close by it, which are very well stored with cloves. The two chief towns are Ternate and Tidore; and as the isle of Ceylon is reckoned the only place for cinamon, and that of Banda for nutmegs, so these are thought by some to be the only clove islands in the world; but this is a great error, as I have already shewn.

At the south end of the island of Celebes, there is a sea or gulph, of about seven or eight leagues wide, and forty or fifty long, which runs up the country almost directly to the north; and this gulph hath several small islands along the middle of it. On the west side of the island, almost at the south end of it, the town of Macasser is seated. A town of great strength and trade, belonging to the Dutch.

There are great inlets and lakes on the east side of the island; as also abundance of small islands, and shoals lying scattered about it. We saw a high peaked hill at the north end: but the land on the east side is low all along; for we cruised almost the length of it. The mold on this side is black and deep, and extraordinary fat and rich, and full of trees:

trees : and there are many brooks of water run out into the sea. Indeed all this east side of the island seems to be but one large grove of extraordinary great high trees.

Having with much ado got on this east side, coasting along to the southward, and yet having but little wind, and even that little against us, at S. S. W. and sometimes calm, we were a long time going about the island.

The 22d day we were in lat. 1 d. 20 m. south, and being about three leagues from the island standing to the southward, with a very gentle land wind, about two or three o'clock in the morning, we heard a clashing in the water, like boats rowing : and fearing some sudden attack, we got up all our arms, and stood ready to defend ourselves. As soon as it was day, we saw a great proe, built like the Mindanaian proes, with about sixty men in her, and six smaller proes. They lay still about a mile to windward of us, to view us ; and probably designed to make a prey of us, when they first came out : but they were now afraid to venture on us.

At last we shewed them Dutch colours, thinking thereby to allure them to come to us ; for we could not go to them : but they presently rowed in towards the island, and went into a large opening ; and we saw them no more, nor did we ever see any other boats or men, but only one fishing canoe, while we were about this island ; neither did we see any house on all the coast.

About five or six leagues to the south of this place, there is a great range of both large and small islands ; and many shoals also that are not laid down in our drafts ; which made it extremely troublesome for us to get through. But we past between them all and the island Celebes, and anchored against a sandy bay in eight fathom sandy ground,
about

about half a mile from the main island : being then in lat. 1 d. 50 m. south.

Here we staid several days, and sent out our canoes a striking of turtle every day ; for here is great plenty of them, but they were very shy, as they were generally where-ever we found them in the East India seas. I know not the reason of it, unless the natives go very much a striking here : for even in the West Indies they are shy in places that are much disturbed : and yet on New Holland we found them shy, as I shall relate ; though the natives there do not molest them.

On the shoals without us we went and gathered shell-fish at low water. There were a monstrous sort of cockles ; the meat of one of them would suffice seven or eight men ; and was very good wholesome meat. We also beat about in the woods on the island, but found no game. One of our men, who was always troubled with sore legs, found a certain vine that supported itself by clinging about other trees. The leaves reached six or seven feet high, but the strings or branches eleven or twelve. It had a very green leaf, pretty broad and roundish, and of a thick substance. These leaves pounded small and boiled with hogs lard, make an excellent salve. Our men knowing the virtues of it, stocked themselves here ; there was scarce a man in the ship but got a pound or two of it, especially such as were troubled with old ulcers, who found great benefit by it. This man that discovered these leaves here had his first knowledge of them in the Isthmus of Darien, having had his receipt from one of the Indians there : and he had been ashore in divers places since, purposely to seek these leaves, but never found any but here. Among the many vast trees hereabouts, there was one exceeded all the rest. This captain Read caused to be cut down, in order

to

to make a canoe, having lost our boats, all but one small one, in the late storms; so six lusty men, who had been logwood-cutters in the bays of Campeachy and Honduras (as captain Read himself, and many more of us had) and were very expert at this work, undertook to fell it, taking their turns, three always cutting together; and they were one whole day, and half the next, before they got it down. This tree, though it grew in a wood, was yet eighteen feet in circumference, and forty-four feet of clean body, without knot or branch: and even there it had no more than one or two branches, and then ran clean again ten feet higher; there it spreads itself into many great limbs and branches, like an oak, very green and flourishing: yet it was perished at the heart, which marred it for the service intended.

So leaving it, and having no more business here, we weighed, and went from hence the next day, being the 29th day of November. While we lay here we had some tornadoes, one or two every day, and pretty fresh land winds which were at west. The sea breezes were small and uncertain, sometimes out of the north east, and so veering about to the east and south east. We had the wind at north east when we weighed, and we steered off S. S. W. In the afternoon we saw a shoal a-head of us, and altered our course to the S. S. E. In the evening, at four o'clock, we were close by another great shoal; therefore we tacked, and stood in for the island Celebes again, for fear of running on some of the shoals in the night. By day a man might avoid them well enough, for they had all beacons on them, like huts built on tall posts, above high water mark, probably set up by the natives of the island Celebes, or those of some neighbouring islands; and I never saw any such elsewhere. In

the night we had a violent tornado out of the south west, which lasted about an hour.

The 30th day we had a fresh land wind, and steered away south, passing between the two shoals which we saw the day before. These shoals lie in lat 3 deg. south, and about ten leagues from the island Celebes. Being past them, the wind died away, and we lay becalmed till the afternoon, then we had a hard tornado out of the south west, and towards the evening we saw two or three spouts, the first I had seen since I came into the East Indies, in the West Indies I had often met with them. A spout is a small ragged piece, or part of a cloud, hanging down about a yard, seemingly from the blackest part thereof. Commonly it hangs down sloping from thence, or sometimes appearing with a small bending, or elbow in the middle. I never saw any hang perpendicularly down. It is small at the lower end, seeming no bigger than ones arm, but fuller towards the cloud, from whence it proceeds.

When the surface of the sea begins to work, you shall see the water, for about 100 paces in circumference, foam and move gently round till the whirling motion increases, and then it flies upward in a pillar, about an hundred paces in compass at the bottom, but lessening gradually upwards to the smallness of the spout itself, where it reacheth the lower end of the spout, through which the rising sea-water seems to be conveyed into the clouds. This visibly appears by the clouds increasing in bulk and blackness. Then you shall presently see the cloud drive along, although before it seemed to be without motion, the spout also keeping the same course with the cloud, and still sucking up the water as it goes along, and making a wind as they go. Thus it continues for the space of half an hour,
more

more or less, until the sucking is spent, and then breaking off, all the water which was below the spout, or pendulous piece of cloud, falls down again into the sea, making a great noise with its fall, and clashing motion in the sea.

It is very dangerous for a ship to be under a spout when it breaks, therefore we always endeavour to shun it, by keeping at a distance, if possibly we can. But for want of wind to carry us away, we are often in great fear and danger, for it is usually calm when spouts are at work, except only just where they are. Therefore men at sea, when they see a spout coming, and know not how to avoid it, do sometimes fire shot out of their great guns into it, to give it air or vent, that so it may break; but I never heard that it proved to be of any benefit.

And now being on this subject, I think it not amiss to give you an account of an accident that happened to a ship once on the coast of Guinea, sometime in or about the year 1674. One captain Records of London, bound for the coast of Guinea, in a ship of three hundred tons and sixteen guns, called the Blessing: when he came into the lat. 7 or 8 degrees north, he saw several spouts, one of which came directly towards the ship, and he having no wind to get out of the way of the spout, made ready to receive it by furling his sails. It came on very swift, and broke a little before it reached the ship, making a great noise, and raising the sea round it, as if a great house, or some such thing, had been cast into the sea. The fury of the wind still lasted, and took the ship on the starboard bow with such violence, that it snapt off the bowsprit and foremast both at once, and blew the ship all along ready to overset it, but she did presently right again, and the wind whirling round, took

the ship a second time with the like fury as before, but on the contrary side, and was again like to overset her the other way. The mizen-mast felt the fury of this second blast, and was snapt short off, as the fore mast and boltspnit had been before. The main-mast and main-top-mast received no damage, for the fury of the wind, which was presently over, did not reach them. Three men were in the fore-top when the fore-mast broke, and one on the boltspnit, and fell with them into the sea, but all of them were saved. I had this relation from Mr. John Canby, who was then quartermaster and steward of her; one Abraham Wise was chief mate, and Leonard Jefferies second mate.

We are usually very much afraid of them; yet this was the only damage that ever I heard done by them. They seem terrible enough, the rather because they come upon you while you lie becalmed like a log in the sea, and cannot get out of their way: but though I have seen, and been beset by them often, yet the fright was always the greatest of the harm.

December the first, we had a gentle gale at E. S. E. we steered south, and at noon I was by observation in lat. 3 deg. 34 min. south. Then we saw the island Bouton, bearing south west, and about ten leagues distant. We had very uncertain and unconstant winds; the tornadoes came out of the S. W. which was against us, and what other winds we had were so faint that they did us little kindness; but we took the advantage of the smallest gale, and got a little way every day. The 4th day at noon I was by observation in lat. 4 d. 30 m. south.

The 5th day we got close by the N. W. end of the island Bouton, and in the evening, it being fair weather, we hoisted out our canoe, and sent the Moskitomen, of whom we had two or three;

to strike turtle, for here are plenty of them; but they being shy, we chose to strike them in the night, which is customary in the West Indies also, for every time they come up to breath, which is once in eight or ten minutes, they blow so hard that one may hear them at thirty or forty yards distance, by which means the striker knows where they are, and may more easily approach them than in the day, for the turtle sees better than he hears; but, on the contrary, the manatee's hearing is quickest.

In the morning they returned with a very large turtle, which they took near the shore; and with them an Indian of the island came on board. He spake the Malayan language, by which we did understand him. He told us, that two leagues farther to the southward of us, there was a good harbour in which we might anchor; so having a fair wind we got thither by noon.

This harbour is in lat. 4 d. 54 m. south, lying on the east side of the island Bouton; which island lies near the south east end of the island Celebes, distant from it about three or four leagues. It is of a long form, stretching S. W. and N. E. about twenty-five leagues long and ten broad. It is pretty high land, and appears pretty even and flat, and very woody.

There is a large town within a league of the anchoring place, called Callasufung, being the chief, if there were more, which we knew not. It is about a mile from the sea, on the top of a small hill, in a very fair plain, incompassed with cocoa nut trees.

Without the trees, there is a strong stone wall clear round the town. The houses are built like the houses at Mindanao, but more neat; and the whole town was very clean and delightful.

The inhabitants are small, and well shaped. They are much like the Mindanaians in shape, colour, and habit, but more neat and tight. They speak the Malayan language, and are all Mahometans. They are very obedient to the sultan, who is a little man, about forty or fifty years old, and hath a great many wives and children.

About an hour after we came to an anchor, the sultan sent a messenger on board to know what we were, and what our business. We gave him an account, and he returned ashore, and in a short time after he came on board again, and told us that the sultan was very well pleased when he heard that we were English, and said that we should have any thing that the island afforded, and that he himself would come on board in the morning. Therefore the ship was made clean, and every thing put in the best order to receive him.

The sixth day in the morning betimes a great many boats and canoes came on board, with fowls, eggs, plantains, potatoes, &c. but they would dispose of none till they had order for it from the sultan at his coming. About ten o'clock the sultan came on board in a very neat proe, built after the Mindanao fashion. There was a large white silk flag at the head of the mast, edged round with a deep red for about two or three inches broad, and in the middle there was neatly drawn a green griffin, trampling on a winged serpent, that seemed to struggle to get up, and threatened his adversary with open mouth and with a long sting that was ready to be darted into his legs. Other East Indian princes have their devices also.

The sultan with three or four of his nobles, and three of his sons, sat in the house of the proe. His guards were ten musqueteers, five standing on one side of the proe, and five on the other side; and before

before the door of the proe-house stood one with a great broad sword and a target, and two more such at the after part of the house; and in the head and stern of the proe stood four musqueteers more, two at each end.

The sultan had a silk turbat, laced with narrow gold lace by the sides, and broad lace at the end, which hung down on one side the head, after the Mindanaian fashion. He had a sky-coloured silk pair of breeches, and piece of red silk thrown cross his shoulders, and hanging loose about him; the greatest part of his back and waist appearing naked. He had neither stocking nor shoe. One of his sons was about fifteen or sixteen years old, the other two were young things; and they were always in the arms of one or other of his attendants.

Captain Read met him at the side, and led him into his small cabin, and fired five guns for his welcome. As soon as he came on board he gave leave to his subjects to traffic with us; and then our people bought what they had a mind to. The sultan seemed very well pleased to be visited by the English, and said he had coveted to have a sight of Englishmen, having heard extraordinary characters of their just and honourable dealing; but he exclaimed against the Dutch (as all the Mindanaians, and all the Indians we met with do) and wished them at a greater distance.

For Macasser is not very far from hence, one of the chief towns that the Dutch have in those parts. From thence the Dutch come sometimes hither to purchase slaves. The slaves that these people get here and sell to the Dutch, are some of the idolatrous natives of the island, who not being under the sultan, and having no head, live straggling in the country, flying from one place to another to preserve themselves from the prince and his subjects,

who hunt after them to make them slaves. For the civilized Indians of the maritime places, who trade with foreigners, if they cannot induce the inland people to the obedience of their prince, they catch all they can of them and sell them for slaves, accounting them to be but as savages, just as the Spaniards do the poor Americans.

After two or three hours discourse, the sultan went ashore again, and five guns were fired at his departure also. The next day he sent for captain Read to come ashore, and he, with seven or eight men, went to wait on the sultan. I could not slip an opportunity of seeing the place; and so accompanied them. We were met at the landing-place by two of the chief men, and guided to a pretty neat house, where the sultan waited our coming. The house stood at the farther end of all the town beforementioned, which we passed through; and abundance of people were gazing on us as we past by. When we came near the house, there were forty poor naked soldiers with musquets made a lane for us to pass through. This house was not built on posts, as the rest were, after the Mindanaian way, but the room in which we were entertained was on the ground, covered with mats to sit on. Our entertainment was tobacco and betel-nut, and young cocoa-nuts, and the house was beset with men, women and children, who thronged to get near the windows to look on us.

We did not tarry above an hour before we took our leaves and departed. This town stands in a sandy soil; but what the rest of the island is I know not, for none of us were ashore but at this place.

The next day the sultan came on board again, and presented captain Read with a little boy, but he was too small to be serviceable on board; and
fo

so captain Read returned thanks, and told him he was too little for him. Then the sultan sent for a bigger boy, which the captain accepted. This boy was a very pretty tractable boy; but what was wonderful in him, he had two rows of teeth, one within another on each jaw. None of the other people were so, nor did I ever see the like. The captain was presented also with two he-goats, and was promised some buffaloe, but I do believe that they have but few of either on the island. We did not see any buffaloe nor many goats, neither have they much rice, but their chief food is roots. We bought here about a thousand pound weight of potatoes. Here our men bought also abundance of cockadores, and fine large parakites, curiously coloured, and some of the finest I ever saw.

The cockadore is as big as a parrot, and shaped much like it, with such a bill, but is as white as milk, and hath a bunch of feathers on his head like a crown. At this place we bought a proe also of the Mindanaian make, for our own use, which our carpenters afterwards altered, and made a delicate boat fit for any service. She was sharp at both ends, but we saw'd off one, fastning a rudder to it, and she rowed and sailed incomparably.

We staid here but till the 12th day, because it was a bad harbour and foul ground, and a bad time of the year too, for the tornadoes began to come in thick and strong. When we went to weigh our anchor, it was hooked in a rock, and we broke our cable, and could not get our anchor, though we strove hard for it, so we went away and left it there. We had the wind at N. N. E. and we steered towards the S. E. and fell in with four or five small islands, that lie in 5 d. 40 m. south lat. and about five or six leagues from Callasufung harbour. These islands appeared very green with cocoa-nut trees,

trees, and we saw two or three towns on them, and heard a drum all night, for we were got in among shoals, and could not get out again till the next day. We knew not whether the drum were for fear of us, or that they were making merry, as it is usual in these parts to do all the night, singing and dancing till the morning.

We found a pretty strong tide here, the flood setting to the southward, and the ebb to the northward. These shoals, and many other that are not laid down in our drafts, lie on the south west side of the islands where we heard the drum, about a league from them. At last we passed between the islands, and tried for a passage on the east side. We met with divers shoals on this side also, but found channels to pass through; so we steer'd away for the island Timor, intending to pass out by it. We had the winds commonly at W. S. W. and S. W. hard gales and rainy weather.

The sixth day we got clear of the shoals, and steer'd S. by E. with the wind at W. S. W. but veering every half hour, sometimes at S. W. and then again at W. and sometimes at N. N. W. bringing much rain, with thunder and lightning.

The 20th day we passed by the island Omba, which is a pretty high island, lying in lat. 8 deg. 20 min. and not above five or six leagues from the N. E. part of the island Timor. It is about thirteen or fourteen leagues long, and five or six wide.

About seven or eight leagues to the west of Omba, is another pretty large island, but it has no name in our drafts; yet by the situation it should be that, which in some maps is called Pentare. We saw on it abundance of smoaks by day and fires by night, and a large town on the north side of it, not far from the sea; but it was such bad weather that we did not go ashore. Between Omba
and

and Pentare, and in the mid channel, there is a small low sandy island, with great shoals on either side; but there is a very good channel close by Pentare, between that and the shoals about the small isle. We were three days beating off and on, not having a wind, for it was at S. S. W.

The 23d day in the evening, having a small gale at north, we got through, keeping close by Pentare. The tide of ebb here set out to the southward, by which we were helped through, for we had but little wind. But this tide, which did us a kindness in setting us through, had like to have ruined us afterwards, for there are two small islands lying at the south end of the channel we came thro', and towards these islands the tide hurried us so swiftly, that we very narrowly escaped being driven ashore; for the little wind we had before at N. dying away, we had not one breath of wind when we came there, neither was there any anchor ground. But we got out our oars and rowed, yet all in vain, for the tide set wholly on one of the small islands, that we were forced with might and main strength to bear off the ship, by thrusting with our oars against the shore, which was a steep bank, and by this means we presently drove away, clear of danger; and having a little wind in the night at north, we steered away S. S. W. In the morning again we had the wind at W.S.W. and steered S. and the wind coming to the W. N. W. we steered S. W. to get clear of the S. W. end of the island Timor. The 29th day we saw the N. W. point of Timor S. E. by E. distant about eight leagues.

Timor is a long high mountainous island, stretching N. E. and S. W. It is about seventy leagues long, and fifteen or sixteen wide; the middle of the island is in lat. about 9 d. south. I have been informed that the Portuguese do trade to this island; but

but I know nothing of its produce besides coire, for making cables, of which there is mention in chapter XVII.

The 27th day we saw two small island which lie near the S. W. end of Timor; they bore from us S. E. We had very hard gales of wind, and still with a great deal of rain; the wind at W. and W. S. W.

Being now clear of all the islands, we stood off south, intending to touch at New-Holland, a part of Terra Australis Incognita, to see what the country would afford us. Indeed, as the winds were, we could not now keep our intended course (which was first westerly, and then northerly) without going to New Holland, unless we had gone back again among the islands; but this was not a good time of the year to be among any islands to the south of the equator, unless in a good harbour.

The 31st day we were in lat. 13 d. 20 m. still standing to the southward, the wind bearing commonly very hard at west, and we keeping upon it under two courses, and our mizen, and sometimes a main-top-sail rift. About ten o'clock at night we tackt and stood to the northward, for fear of running on a shoal, which is laid down in our drafts in lat. 13 d. 50 m. or thereabouts, it bearing S. by W. from the east end of Timor, and so the island bore from us, by our judgments and reckoning. At three o'clock we tack'd again, and stood S. by W. and S. S. W.

In the morning as soon as it was day, we saw the shoal right a head: it lies in 13 d. 50 m. by all our reckonings. It is a small spot of land, just appearing above the waters edge, with several rocks about it, eight or ten feet high above water. It lies in a triangular form, each side being about a league and half. We stemm'd right with the middle of it,
and

and stood within half a mile of the rocks, and founded, but found no ground. Then we went about and stood to the north two hours, and then tack'd and stood to the southward again, thinking to weather it, but could not; so we bore away on the north side, till we came to the east point, giving the rocks a small birth; then we trimm'd sharp and stood to the southward, passing close by it, and founded again, but found no ground.

This shoal is laid down in our drafts not above sixteen or twenty leagues from New-Holland; but we run afterwards sixty leagues due south before we fell in with it, and I am very confident, that no part of New Holland hereabouts lies so far northerly by forty leagues, as it is laid down in our drafts; for if New Holland were laid down true, we must of necessity have been driven near forty leagues to the westward of our course; but this is very improbable that the current should set so strong to the westward, seeing we had such a constant westerly wind. I grant that when the monsoon shifts first, the current does not presently shift, but runs afterwards near a month; but the monsoon had been shifted at least two months now. But of the monsoons and other winds, and of the currents, elsewhere, in their proper place. As to these here I do rather believe that the land is not laid down true, than that the current deceived us; for it was more probable we should have been deceived before we met with the shoal, than afterwards; for on the coast of New Holland we found the tides keeping their constant course; the flood running N. by E. and the ebb S. by E.

The 4th day of January 1688, we fell in with the land of New Holland in the lat. of 16 d. 50 m. having, as I said before, made our course due south from the shoal that we past by the 31st day of December.

cember. We ran in close by it, and finding no convenient anchoring, because it lies open to the N. W. we ran along shore to the eastward, steering N. E. by E. for so the land lies. We steered thus about twelve leagues, and then came to a point of land, from whence the land tends east and southerly, for ten or twelve leagues; but how afterwards I know not. About three leagues to the eastward of this point, there is a pretty deep bay, with abundance of islands in it, and a very good place to anchor in, or to hale ashore. About a league to the eastward of that point we anchored January the 5th, 1688, two miles from the shore, in twenty-nine fathom, good hard sand, and clean ground.

New-Holland is a very large tract of land. It is not yet determined whether it is an island or a main continent; but I am certain that it joins neither to Asia, Africa nor America. This part of it that we saw is all low even land, with sandy banks against the sea, only the points are rocky, and so are some of the islands in this bay.

The land is of a dry sandy soil, destitute of water, except you make wells; yet producing divers sorts of trees, but the woods are not thick, nor the trees very big. Most of the trees that we saw are dragon-trees as we supposed, and these too are the largest trees of any there. They are about the bigness of our large apple-trees, and about the same height, and the rind is blackish, and somewhat rough. The leaves are of a dark colour; the gum distils out of the knots or cracks that are in the bodies of the trees. We compared it with some gum dragon, or dragons blood, that was on board, and it was of the same colour and taste. The other sorts of trees were not known by any of us. There was pretty long grass growing under the trees, but it was very thin. We saw no trees that bore fruit or berries. We

We saw no sort of animal, nor any track of beast, but once, and that seemed to be the tread of a beast as big as a mastiff dog. Here are a few small land-birds, but none bigger than a blackbird, and but few sea-fowls.

Neither is the sea very plentifully stored with fish, unless you reckon the manatee and turtle as such. Of these creatures there is plenty, but they are extraordinary shy, though the inhabitants cannot trouble them much, having neither boats nor iron.

The inhabitants of this country are the miserablest people in the world. The Hodmadods of Monomatapa, though a nasty people, yet for wealth are gentlemen to these, who have no houses and skin garments, sheep, poultry, and fruits of the earth, ostrich eggs, &c. as the Hodmadods have; and setting aside their human shape, they differ but little from brutes. They are tall, strait bodied, and thin, with small long limbs. They have great heads, round foreheads, and great brows. Their eye lids are always half closed, to keep the flies out of their eyes, being so troublesome here, that no fanning will keep them from coming to ones face, and without the assistance of both hands to keep them off, will creep into ones nostrils and mouth too, if the lips are not shut very close. So that from their infancy being thus annoyed with these insects, they never open their eyes as other people; and therefore they cannot see far, unless they hold up their heads, as if they were looking at somewhat over them.

They have great bottle noses, pretty full lips, and wide mouths. The two fore-teeth of their upper jaw are wanting in all of them, men and women, old and young; whether they draw them out, I know not; neither have they any beards. They are long visaged, and of a very displeasing aspect,

aspect, having no one graceful feature in their faces. Their hair is black, short and curled, like that of the negroes, and not long and lank like the common Indians. The colour of the skin, both of their faces and the rest of their body, is coal black, like that of the negroes of Guinea.

They have no sort of cloaths, but a piece of the rind of a tree tied like a girdle about their waists, and a handful of long grass, or three or four small green boughs, full of leaves, thrust under their girdle to cover their nakedness.

They have no houses, but lie in the open air, without any covering, the earth their bed, and the heaven their canopy. Whether they cohabit one man to one woman, or promiscuously, I know not, but they live in companies, twenty or thirty men, women, and children together. Their only food is a small sort of fish, which they get by making wares of stone, across little coves, or branches of the sea; every tide bringing in the small fish, and there leaving them for a prey to these people, who constantly attend there to search for them at low water. This small fry I take to be the top of their fishery: they have no instruments to catch great fish, should they come; and such seldom stay to be left behind at low water: nor could we catch any fish with our hooks and lines all the while we lay there. In other places at low water they seek for cockles, muscles, and periwinkles; of these shell-fish there are fewer still, so that their chief dependance is upon what the sea leaves in their wares, which, be it much or little, they gather up, and march to the places of their abode. There the old people, that are not able to stir abroad, by reason of their age, and the tender infants, wait their return; and what providence has bestowed on them, they presently broil on the coals, and eat in common. Sometimes they

they get as many fish as make them a plentiful banquet; and at other times they scarce get every one a taste; but be it little or much that they get, every one has his part, as well the young and tender, as the old and feeble, who are not able to go abroad, as the strong and lusty. When they have eaten they lie down till the next low water, and then all that are able march out, be it night or day, rain or sunshine, it is all one, they must attend the wares, or else they must fast, for the earth affords them no food at all. There is neither herd, root, pulse, nor any sort of grain, for them to eat, that we saw, nor any sort of bird or beast that they can catch, having no instruments wherewithal to do so.

I did not perceive that they worshiped any thing. These poor creatures have a sort of weapon to defend their ware or fight with their enemies, if they have any that will interfere with their poor fishery. They did at first endeavour with their weapons to frighten us, who lying ashore, deterred them from one of their fishing-places. Some of them had wooden swords, others had a sort of lances. The sword is a piece of wood, shaped somewhat like a cutlass. The lance is a long strait pole, sharp at one end, and hardened afterwards by heat. I saw no iron, nor any other sort of metal, therefore it is probable they use stone hatchets, as some Indians in America do, described in chapter XI.

How they get their fire I know not; but, probably, as Indians do, out of wood. I have seen the Indians of Bon-Airy do it, and have myself tried the experiment. They take a flat piece of wood that is pretty soft, and make a small dent in one side of it, then they take another hard round stick, about the bigness of ones little finger, and sharpening it at one end like a pencil, they put that

sharp end in the hole or dent of the flat soft piece, and then rubbing or twirling the hard piece between the palms of their hands, they drill the soft piece till it smoaks, and at last takes fire.

These people speak somewhat through the throat, but we could not understand one word that they said. We anchored, as I said before, January the fifth, and seeing men walking on the shore, we presently sent a canoe to get some acquaintance with them, for we were in hopes to get some provision among them. But the inhabitants, seeing our boat coming, ran away and hid themselves. We searched afterwards three days in hopes to find the houses, but found none, yet we saw many places where they had made fires. At last, being out of hopes to find their habitations, we searched no farther, but left a great many toys ashore, in such places where we thought that they would come. In all our search we found no water, but old wells on the sandy bays.

At last we went over to the islands, and there we found a great many of the natives; I do believe there were forty on one island, men, women, and children. The men, at our first coming ashore, threatened us with their lances and swords, but they were frightened by firing one gun, which we fired purposely to scare them. The island was so small that they could not hide themselves; but they were much disordered at our landing, especially the women and children, for we went directly to their camp. The lustiest of the women snatching up their infants ran away howling, and the little children run after squeaking and bawling, but the men stood still. Some of the women, and such of the people as could not go from us, lay still by a fire, making a doleful noise, as if we had been coming to devour them: but when they saw we did not in-

tend to harm them, they were pretty quiet, and the rest that fled from us at our first coming, returned again. This, their place of dwelling, was only a fire, with a few boughs before it, set up on that side the wind was of.

After we had been here a little while, the men began to be familiar, and we cloathed some of them, designing to have had some service of them for it; for we found some wells of water here, and intended to carry two or three barrels of it on board. But being somewhat troublesome to carry to the canoes, we thought to have made these men carry it for us, and therefore we gave them some cloaths; to one an old pair of breeches; to another a ragged shirt; to the third a jacket that was scarce worth owning; which yet would have been very acceptable at some places where we had been, and so we thought they might have been with these people. We put them on them, thinking that this finery would have brought them to work heartily for us; and our water being filled in small long barrels, about six gallons each, which were made purposely to carry water in, we brought these our new servants to the wells, and put a barrel on each of their shoulders for them to carry to the canoe. But all the signs we could make were to no purpose, for they stood like statues, without motion, but grinn'd like so many monkees, staring one upon another; for these poor creatures seem not accustomed to carry burthens; and I believe that one of our ship-boys of ten years old, would carry as much as one of them: so we were forced to carry our water ourselves, and they very fairly put the cloaths off again, and laid them down, as if cloaths were only to work in. I did not perceive that they had any great liking to them at first, neither did they seem to admire any thing that we had.

At

At another time our canoe being among these islands seeking for game, espied a drove of these men swimming from one island to another; for they have no boats, canoes, or bark-logs. They took up four of them, and brought them on board; two of them were middle aged, the other two were young men about eighteen or twenty years old. To these we gave boiled rice, and with it turtle and manatee boiled. They greedily devoured what we gave them, but took no notice of the ship, or any thing in it, and when they were set on land again, they ran away as fast as they could. At our first coming, before we were acquainted with them, or they with us, a company of them who lived on the main, came just against our ship, and standing on a pretty high bank, threatned us with their swords and lances, by shaking them at us; at last the captain ordered the drum to be beaten, which was done of a sudden with much vigor, purposely to scare the poor creatures. They hearing the noise, ran away as fast as they could drive, and when they ran away in haste, they would cry gurry, gurry, speaking deep in the throat. Those inhabitants also that live on the main, would always run away from us; yet we took several of them. For, as I have already observed, they had such bad eyes, that they could not see us till we came close to them. We always gave them victuals, and let them go again, but the islanders, after our first time of being among them, did not stir for us.

When we had been here about a week, we hal'd our ship into a small sandy cove, at a spring-tide, as far as she would float; and at low water she was left dry, and the sand dry without us near half a mile; for the sea rises and falls here about five fathom. The flood runs north by east, and the ebb south by west. All the neep-tides we lay wholly
aground

aground, for the sea did not come near us by about a hundred yards. We had therefore time enough to clean our ships bottom very well. Most of our men lay ashore in a tent, where our sails were mending; and our strikers brought home turtle and manatee every day, which was our constant food.

While we lay here, I endeavoured to persuade our men to go to some English factory; but was threatned to be turned ashore, and left here for it.

This made me desist, and patiently wait for some more convenient place and opportunity to leave them, which I hoped I should accomplish in a short time; because they intended when they went from hence, to bear down towards cape Comorin. In their way thither they design'd also to visit the island Cocos, which lies in lat. 12 d. 12 m. north, by our drafts; hoping there to find of that fruit, the island having its name from thence.

CH A P. XXIV.

Leaving New Holland they pass by the island Cocos, and touch at another woody island near it; and steering along the west coast of Sumatra, arrive at the isle of Nicobar, where the author and some others leave the ship and stay ashore.

MARCH the 12th, 1688, we sailed from New Holland, with the wind at N. N. W. and fair weather. We directed our course to the northward, intending, as I said, to touch at the island Cocos; but we met with the winds at N. W. W. N. W. and N. N. W. for several days; which obliged us to keep a more easterly course than was convenient to find that island. We had soon after our setting out very bad weather, with much thunder and lightning, rain and high blustering winds.

It was the 26th day of March before we were in the lat. of the island Cocos, which is in 12 d. 12 m. and then, by judgment, we were forty or fifty leagues to the east of it; and the wind was now at S. W. therefore we rather chose to bear away towards some islands on the west side of Sumatra, than to beat against the wind for the island Cocos. I was very glad of this, being in hopes to make my escape from them to Sumatra, or some other place.

We met nothing remarkable in this voyage, besides the catching two great sharks, till the 28th day; then we fell in with a small woody island, in lat. 10 d 30 m. Its longitude from New Holland, from whence we came, was, by my account 12 d. 6 m. west. It was deep water about the island, and therefore no anchoring; but we sent two canoes ashore, one of them with the carpenters to cut a tree to make another pump, the other canoe went to search for fresh water, and found a fine small brook near the S. W. point of the island; but there the sea fell in on the shore so high, that they could not get it off. At noon both our canoes returned, and brought a good tree, which the carpenters afterwards made a pump with, such a one as they made at Mindanao. The other canoe brought on board as many boobies and men of war birds, as sufficed all the ships company, when they were boiled. They got also a sort of land animal, somewhat resembling a large craw-fish, without its great claws. These creatures lived in holes in the dry sandy ground, like rabbits. Sir Francis Drake, in his voyage round the world, makes mention of such that he found at Ternate, or some other of the spice islands, or near them. They were very good sweet meat, and so large, that two of them were more than a man could eat, being almost as thick

as

as ones leg. Their shells were of a dark brown, but red when boiled.

This island is of a good height, with steep cliffs again the S. and S. W. and a sandy bay on the north side, but very deep water steep to the shore. The mold is blackish, the soil fat, producing large trees of divers sorts.

About one o'clock in the afternoon we made sail from this island, with the wind at S. W. and steered N. W. afterwards the winds came about at N. W. and continued between the W. N. W. and the N. N. W. several days. I observed, that the winds blew for the most part out of the W. or N. W. and then we had always rainy weather, with tornadoes, and much thunder and lightning; but when the wind came any way to the southward, it blew but faint, and brought fair weather.

We met nothing of remark till the 7th day of April, and then, being in lat. 7 d. S. we saw the land of Sumatra at a great distance, bearing north. The 8th day we saw the east end of the island Sumatra very plainly; being then in lat. 6 d. south. The tenth day, being in lat. 5 d. 11 m. and about seven or eight leagues from the island Sumatra, on the west side of it, we saw abundance of cocoa nuts swimming in the sea; and hoisted out our boat, and took up some of them; as also a small hatch or scuttle rather, belonging to some bark. The nuts were very sound, and the kernel sweet, and in some the milk or water in them was yet sweet and good.

The 13th day we came to a small island called Triste, in lat. by observation, 4 d. south: it is about fourteen or fifteen leagues to the west of the island Sumatra. From hence to the northward there are a great many small uninhabited islands, lying much at the same distance from Sumatra. This

island Triste is not a mile round, and so low, that the tide flows clear over it. It is of a sandy soil, and full of cocoa-nut trees. The nuts are but small, yet sweet enough, full, and more ponderous than I ever felt any of that bigness; notwithstanding that every spring-tide the salt water goes clear over the island.

We sent ashore our canoes for cocoa-nuts, and they returned on board laden with them three times. Our strikers also went out and struck some fish, which was boiled for supper. They also killed two young aligators, which we salted for the next day.

I had no opportunity at this place to make my escape as I would have done, and gone over hence to Sumatra, could I have kept a boat with me. But there was no compassing this; and so the 15th day we went from hence, steering to the northward on the west side of Sumatra. Our food now was rice, and the meat of the cocoa-nut rasped and steeped in water, which made a sort of milk, into which we put our rice, making a pleasant mess enough. After we parted from Triste we saw other small islands, that were also full of cocoa-nut trees.

The 19th day, being in lat. 3 d. 25 m. S. the S.W. point of the island Nassau bore N. about five miles distant. This is a pretty large uninhabited island, in lat. 3 d. 20 m. S. and full of high trees. About a mile from the island Nassau there is a small island full of cocoa-nut trees. There we anchored the 20th day to replenish our stock of cocoa-nuts. A riff of rocks lies almost round this island, so that our boats could not go ashore, nor come on board at low water; yet we got on board four boat loads of nuts. This island is low like Triste, and the anchoring is on the north side, where you have fourteen fathom, a mile from shore, clean sand.

The

The 21st day we went from hence, and kept to the northward, coasting still on the west side of the island Sumatra; and having the winds between the W. and S. S. W. with unsettled weather; sometimes rains and tornadoes, and sometimes fair weather.

The 25th day we crost the equator, still coasting to the northward, between the island Sumatra, and a range of small islands, lying fourteen or fifteen leagues off it. Among all these island, Hog island is the most considerable. It lies in lat. 3 d. 40 m. north. It is pretty high even land, covered with tall flourishing trees; we past by it the 28th day.

The 29th we saw a sail to the north of us, which we chased; but being little wind, we did not come up with her till the 30th day. Then, being within a league of her, captain Read went in a canoe and took her, and brought her on board. She was a proe with four men in her, belonging to Achin, whither she was bound. She came from one of these cocoa-nut islands that we passed by, and was laden with cocoa-nuts, and cocoa-nut oil. Captain Read ordered his men to take on board all the nuts, and as much of the oil as he thought convenient, and then cut a hole in the bottom of the proe, and turned her loose, keeping the men prisoners.

It was not for the lucre of the cargo, that capt. Read took this boat, but to hinder me and some others from going ashore; for he knew that we were ready to make our escapes, if an opportunity presented itself; and he thought, that by his abusing and robbing the natives, we should be afraid to trust ourselves among them. But yet this proceeding of his turned to our great advantage, as shall be declared hereafter.

May

May the 1st, we ran down by the north west end of the island Sumatra, within seven or eight leagues of the shore. All this west side of Sumatra which we thus coasted along, our Englishmen at Fort St. George, call the West Coast, simply, without adding the name of Sumatra. The prisoners who were taken the day before, shewed us the islands that lie off of Achin harbour, and the channels through which ships go in ; and told us also that there was an English factory at Achin. I wished myself there, but was forced to wait with patience till my time was come.

We were now directing our course towards the Nicobar Islands, intending there to clean the ship's bottom, in order to make her sail well.

The 4th day in the evening, we had sight of one of the Nicobar islands. The southermost of them lies about forty leagues N. N. W. from the N. W. end of the island Sumatra. The most southerly of them is Nicobar itself, but all the cluster of islands lying south of the Audeman islands are called by our seamen the Nicobar islands.

The inhabitants of these islands have no certain converse with any nation ; but as ships pass by them, they will come on board in their proes, and offer their commodities to sale, never enquiring of what nation they are, for all white people are alike to them. Their chief commodities are ambergrease and fruits.

Ambergrease is often found by the native Indians of these islands, who know it very well, as also know how to cheat ignorant strangers with a certain mixture like it. Several of our men bought such of them for a small purchase. Captain Weldon also about this time touched at some of these islands, to the north of the island where we lay, and I saw a great deal of such ambergrease, that
one

one of his men bought there, but it was not good, having no smell at all. Yet I saw some there very good and fragrant.

At that island where captain Weldon was, there were two friers sent thither to conver the Indians. One of them came away with captain Weldon, the other remained there still. He that came away with captain Weldon gave a very good character of the inhabitants of that island, viz. that they were very honest, civil, harmless people ; that they were not addicted to quarreling, theft, or murder, that they did marry, or at least live as man and wife, one man with one woman, never changing till death made the separation ; that they were punctual and honest in performing their bargains ; and that they were inclined to receive the christian religion. This relation I had afterwards from the mouth of a priest at Tonquin, who told me that he received this information by a letter from the frier that captain Weldon brought away from thence. But to proceed.

The 5th day of May we ran down on the west side of the island Nicobar, properly so called, and anchored at the N. W. end of it, in a small bay, in eight fathom water, not half a mile from the shore. The body of this island is in 7 d. 30 min. north lat. it is about twelve leagues long, and three or four broad. The south end of it is pretty high, with steep cliffs against the sea ; the rest of the island is low, flat, and even. The mold of it is black and deep, and it is very well watered with small running streams. It produceth abundance of tall trees, fit for any uses ; for the whole bulk of it seems to be but one entire grove. But that which adds most to its beauty off at sea, are the many spots of cocoa-nut trees which grow round it in every small bay. The bays are here half a mile or

a mile long, more or less; and these bays are intercepted, or divided from each other, with as many little rocky points of woodland.

As the cocoa-nut trees do thus grow in groves, fronting to the sea, in the bays, so there is another sort of fruit tree in the bays bordering on the back-side of the cocoa trees, farther from the sea. It is called by the natives a melory tree. This tree is as big as our large apple trees, and as high. It hath a blackish rind, and a pretty broad leaf. The fruit is as big as the bread-fruit at Guam, described in chapter XVII. or a large penny loaf. It is shaped like a pear, and hath a pretty tough smooth rind, of a light green colour. The inside of the fruit is in substance much like an apple, but full of small strings, as big as a brown thread. I never saw of these trees any where but here.

The natives of this island are tall well-limb'd men; pretty long visaged, with black eyes; their noses middle proportioned, and the whole symmetry of their faces agreeing very well. Their hair is black and lank, and their skins of a dark copper colour. The women have no hair on their eye-brows: I believe it is pluck'd up by the roots, for the men had hair growing on their eye-brows, as other people.

The men go all naked, save only a long narrow piece of cloth or sash, which going round their waists, and thence down between the thighs, is brought up behind, and tuck'd in at that part which goes about the waist. The women have a kind of a short petticoat reaching from their waist to their knees.

Their language was different from any that I had ever heard before; yet they had some few Malayan words, and some of them had a word or two of Portuguese, which probably they might learn on board

board of their ships, passing by this place : for when these men see a sail, they presently go on board of them in their canoes. I did not perceive any form of religion that they had : they had neither temple, nor idol, nor any manner of outward veneration to any deity, that I saw.

They inhabit all round the island by the sea side in the bays, there being four or five houses, more or less, in each bay. Their houses are built on posts, as the Mindanaians are. They are small, low and of a square form. There is but one room in each house, and this room is about eight feet from the ground ; and from thence the roof is raised about eight feet higher ; but instead of a sharp ridge, the top is exceeding neatly arched with small rafters about the bigness of a man's arm, bent round like a half moon, and very curiously thatched with palmeto leaves.

They live under no government that I could perceive, for they seem to be equal, without any distinction, every man ruling his own house. Their plantations are only those cocoa-nut trees which grow by the sea side, there being no cleared land farther in on the island ; for I observed that when past their fruit trees, there were no paths to be seen going into the woods. The greatest use which they make of their cocoa trees, is to draw toddy from them, of which they are very fond.

The melory trees seem to grow wild ; they have great earthen pots to boil the melory fruit in, which will hold twelve or fourteen gallons. These pots they fill with the fruit, and putting in a little water, they cover the mouth of the pot with leaves, to keep the steam while it boils. When the fruit is soft, they peel off the rind, and scrape the pulp from the strings with a flat stick made like a knife, and then make it up in great lumps, as big as a
Holland

Holland cheefe, and then it will keep six or seven days. It looks yellow and tastes well, and is their chief food; for they have no yams, potatoes, rice, nor plantains (except a very few) yet they have a few small hogs, and a very few cocks and hens like ours. The men employ themselves in fishing; but I did not see much fish that they got: every house hath at least two or three canoes belonging to it, which they draw up ashore.

The canoes that they go a fishing in are sharp at both ends; and both the sides and the bottom are very thin and smoth. They are shaped somewhat like the proes at Guam, with one side flattish, and the other with a pretty big belly; and they have small slight outlagers on one side. Being thus thin and light they are better managed with oars than with sails, yet they sail well enough, and are steered with a paddle. They commonly go twenty or thirty men in one of these canoes, and seldom fewer than nine or ten. Their oars are short, and they do not paddle, but row with them as we do. The benches they sit on when they row are made of split bambos, laid across, and so near together, that they look like a deck. The bambos lie movable; so that when any go in to row they take up a bambo in the place where they would sit, and lay it by to make room for their legs. The canoes of those of the rest of these islands were like those of Nicobar, and probably they were alike in other things, for we saw no difference at all in the natives of them, who came hither while we were here.

But to proceed with our affairs: it was, as I said before, the 5th day of May, about ten in the morning, when we anchored at this island; captain Read immediately ordered his men to heel the ship in order to clean her, which was done this day and the next. All the water vessels were filled; they intended

tended to go to sea at night, for the winds being yet at N. N. E. the captain was in hopes to get over to cape Comorin before the wind shifted; otherwise it would have been somewhat difficult for him to get thither, because the westerly monsoon was not at hand.

I thought now was my time to make my escape, by getting leave, if possible, to stay here; for it seemed not very feazable to do it by stealth; and I had no reason to despair of getting leave, this being a place where my stay could probably do our crew no harm, should I design it. Indeed one reason that put me on the thoughts of staying at this particular place, besides the present opportunity of leaving captain Read, which I always intended to do, as soon as I could, was, that I had here also a prospect of advancing a profitable trade for ambergrease with these people, and of gaining a considerable fortune to myself; for in a short time I might have learned their language, and by accustoming myself to row with them in their proes or canoes, especailly by conforming myself to their customs and manners of living, I should have seen how they got their ambergrease, and have known what quantities they get, and the time of the year when most is found. And then afterwards I thought it would be easy for me to have transported myself from thence, either in some ship that passed this way, whether English, Dutch, or Portuguese; or else to have gotten one of the young men of the island, to have gone with me in one of their canoes to Achin, and there to have furnished myself with such commodities as I found most coveted by them, and therewith, at my return, to have bought their ambergrease.

I had, till this time, made no open shew of going ashore here; but now, the water being filled,
and

and the ship in readiness to sail, I desired captain Read to let me ashore on this island, he, supposing that I could not go ashore in a place less frequented by ships than this, gave me leave; which probably he would have refused to have done, if he thought I should have gotten from hence in any short time, for fear of my giving an account of him to the English or the Dutch. I soon got up my chest and bedding, and immediately got some to row me ashore, for fear lest his mind should change again.

The canoe that brought me ashore, landed me on a small sandy bay, where there were two houses, but no person in them; for the inhabitants were removed to some other house, probably, for fear of us, because the ship was close by; and yet both men and women came on board the ship without any sign of fear. When our ship's canoe was going on board again, they met the owner of the houses coming ashore in his boat; he made a great many signs to them to fetch me off again, but they would not understand him. Then he came to me, and offered his boat to carry me off, but I refused it. Then he made signs for me to go up into the house, and, according as I did understand him by his signs, and a few Malayan words that he used, he intimated that somewhat would come out of the woods in the night, when I was asleep, and kill me, meaning probably some wild beast. Then I carried my chest and cloaths up into the house.

I had not been ashore an hour before capt. Teat and one John Damarell, with three or four armed men more, came to fetch me on board again. They need not have sent an armed posse for me; for had they but sent the cabin boy ashore for me, I would not have denied going on board. For though I could have hid myself in the woods, yet then they would have abused, or killed some of the natives, purposely

purposely to incense them against me. I told them therefore, that I was ready to go with them, and went on board with all my things.

When I came on board I found the ship in an uproar ; for there were three men more, who taking courage by my example, desired leave also to accompany me. One of them was the surgeon Mr. Coppinger, the other were Mr. Robert Hall and one named Ambrose ; I have forgot his fir-name. These men had always entertained the same designs as I had. The two last were not much opposed, but captain Read and his crew would not part with the surgeon. At last the surgeon leap'd into the canoe, and taking up my gun, swore he would go ashore, and that if any man opposed it, he would shoot him ; but John Oliver, who was then quarter-master, leap'd into the canoe, and taking hold of him, took away the gun, and with the help of two or three more, they dragged him again into the ship.

Then Mr. Hall, Ambrose, and I were again sent ashore, and one of the men that rowed us ashore stole an axe, and gave it to us, knowing it was a good commodity with the Indians. It was now dark, therefore we lighted a candle, and I being the oldest stander in our new country, conducted them into one of the houses, where we presently hung up our hammocks. We had scarce done this before the canoe came ashore again, and brought the four Malaya men belonging to Achin, which we took in the proe off Sumatra, and the Portuguese that came to our ship out of the Siam Jonk at Pulo Condore ; the crew having no occasion for these, being leaving the Malayan parts, where the Portuguese spark served as an interpreter ; and not fearing now that the Achinese could be serviceable to us in bringing us over to their country, forty

leagues off; nor imagining that we durst make such an attempt, as indeed it was a bold one. Now we were men enough to defend ourselves against the natives of this island, if they should prove our enemies; though if none of these men had come ashore to me, I should not have feared any danger; nay, perhaps less, because I should have been cautious of giving any offence to the natives, and am of opinion, that there are no people in the world so barbarous as to kill a single person that falls accidentally into their hands, or comes to live among them; except they have before been injured by some outrage, or violence committed against them: yet even then, or afterwards, if a man could but preserve his life from their first rage, and come to treat with them, which is the hardest thing because their way is usually to abscond, and rushing suddenly upon their enemy to kill him at unawares, one might, by slight, insinuate ones self into their favour again: especially by shewing some toy or knack that they never saw before, which any European, that has seen the world, might soon contrive to amuse them withal; and might be done generally, even with a little fire struck with a flint and steel.

As for the common opinion of Anthropophagi, or men-eaters, I never meet with any such people: all nations or families in the world, that I have seen or heard of, having some sort of food to live on, either fruit, grain, or roots, which grow naturally, or else planted by them; if not fish, and land-animals besides (yea, even the people of New-Holland, had fish amidst all their penury) and would scarce kill a man purposely to eat him. I know not what barbarous customs may formerly have been in the world: and to sacrifice their enemies to their gods, is a thing hath been much talk'd of with relation

lation to the savages of America. I am a stranger to that also, if it be, or have been customary in any nation there; and yet, if they sacrifice their enemies it is not necessary they should eat them too. After all, I will not be peremptory in the negative, but I speak as to the compass of my own knowledge, and know some of these cannibal stories to be false, and many of them to have been disproved since I first went to the West Indies. At that time how barbarous were the poor Florida Indians accounted, which now we find to be civil enough; what strange stories have we heard of the Indians, whose islands were called the isles of cannibals? yet we find that they do trade very civilly with the French and Spaniards, and have done so with us. I own that they have formerly endeavoured to destroy our plantations at Barbadoes, and have since hindered us from settling the island Santa Loca, by destroying two or three colonies successively of those that were settled there; and even the island Tabago has been often annoyed and ravaged by them, when settled by the Dutch, and still lies waste, (though a delicate fruitful island) as being too near the Caribbees on the continent, who visit it every year: but this was to preserve their own right, by endeavouring to keep out any that would settle themselves on those islands, where they had planted themselves; yet even these people would not hurt a single person, as I have been told by some that have been prisoners among them. I could instance also in the Indians of Bocca Toro, and Bocca Drago, and many other places where they live, as the Spaniards call it, wild and savage; yet there they have been familiar with privateers, but by abuses have withdrawn their friendship again. As for these Nicobar people, I found them affable enough, and therefore I did not fear them; but I

did not much care whether I had gotten any more company or no.

But however I was very well satisfied, and the rather because we were now men enough to row ourselves over to the island Sumatra; and accordingly we presently consulted how to purchase a canoe of the natives.

It was a fine clear moon-light night in which we were left ashore; therefore we walked on the sandy bay, to watch when the ship would weigh and be gone, not thinking ourselves secure in our new gotten liberty till then. About eleven or twelve o'clock we saw her under sail and then we returned to our chamber, and so to sleep. This was the 6th of May.

The next morning betimes, our landlord, with four or five of his friends, came to see his new guests, and was somewhat surprized to see so many of us, for he knew of no more but myself; yet he seemed to be very well pleased, and entertained us with a large callabash of toddy, which he brought with him. Before he went away again, (for where-soever we came they left their houses to us, but whether out of fear or superstition I know not) we bought a canoe of him for an axe, and presently put our chests and cloaths in it, designing to go to the south end of the island, and lie there till the monsoon shifted, which we expected every day.

When our things were stowed away, we with the Achinese entered with joy into our new frigate, and launched off from the shore. We were no sooner off, but our canoe overset bottom upwards. We preserved our lives well enough by swimming, and dragged also our chests and cloaths ashore, but all our things were wet. I had nothing of value but my journal and some drafts of land, of my own taking, which I much prized, and which I had hitherto carefully preserved. Mr. Hall had also such another

another cargo of books, which, with much ado, we afterwards dried, but some of our drafts that lay loose in our chests were spoiled.

We lay here afterwards three days, making great fires to dry our books. The Achinese in the mean time fix'd our canoe, with outleagers on each side; and they also cut a good mast for her, and made a substantial sail with mats.

The canoe being now very well fix'd, and our books, and cloaths dry, we launched out the second time, and rowed towards the east side of the island, leaving many Islands to the north of us. The Indians of the island accompanied us with eight or ten canoes against our desire; for we thought that these men would make provision dearer at that side of the island we were going to, by giving an account what rates we gave for it at the place from whence we came, which was owing to the ship's being there; for the ships crew were not so thrifty in bargaining (as they seldom are) as single persons, or a few men might be apt to be, who would keep to one bargain. Therefore to hinder them from going with us, Mr. Hall scared one canoes's crew, by firing a shot over them. They all leap'd over-board, and cried out, but seeing us row away, they got into their canoes again, and came after us.

The firing of that gun made all the inhabitants of the island to be our enemies. For presently after this we put ashore, at a bay where were four houses, and a great many canoes; but they all went away, and came near us no more for several days. We had then a great loaf of melory, which was our constant food; and if we had a mind to cocoa nuts, or toddy, our Malaysians of Achin would clim the trees, and fetch as many nuts as we would have, and a good pot of toddy every morn-

ing. Thus we lived till our melory was almost spent; being still in hopes that the natives would come to us, and sell it as they had formerly done. But they came not to us; nay, they opposed us where-ever we came, and often shaking their lances at us, made all the shew of hatred that they could invent.

At last, when we saw that they stood in opposition to us, we resolved to use force to get some of their food, if we could not get it other ways. With this resolution, we went in our canoe to a small bay, on the north part of the island, because it was smooth water there and good landing, but on the other side, the wind being yet on that quarter, we could not land without jeopardy of oversetting our canoe, and wetting our arms, and then we must have lain at the mercy of our enemies, who stood two or three hundred men in every bay, where they saw us coming, to keep us off.

When we set out, we rowed directly to the north end, and presently were followed by seven or eight of their canoes. They keeping at a distance, rowed away faster than we did, and got to the bay before us; and there, with about twenty more canoes full of men, they all landed, and stood to hinder us from landing; but we rowed in within an hundred yards of them. Then we lay still, and I took my gun, and presented at them; at which they all fell down flat on the ground: but I turned myself about, to shew that we did not intend to harm them, I fired my gun off to the sea, so that they might see the shot graze on the water. As soon as my gun was loaded again, we rowed gently in; at which some of them withdrew. The rest standing up, did still cut and hew the air, making signs of their hatred, till I once more frightened them with my gun, and discharged it as before. Then more
of

of them sneaked away, leaving only five or six men on the bay. Then we rowed in again, and Mr. Hall, taking his sword in his hand, leap'd ashore; and I stood ready with my gun to fire at the Indians, if they had injured him; but they did not stir, till he came to them and saluted them.

He shook them by the hand, and by such signs of friendship as he made, the peace was concluded, ratified and confirmed by all that were present, and others that were gone, were again called back, and they all very joyfully accepted of a peace. This became universal over all the island, to the great joy of the inhabitants. There was no ringing of bells, nor bonfires made, for that is not the custom here, but gladness appeared in their countenances, for now they could go out and fish again, without fear of being taken. This peace was not more welcome to them than to us; for now the inhabitants brought their melory again to us, which we bought for old rags, and small stripes of cloath, about as broad as the palm of ones hand. I did not see above five or six hens, for they have but few on the island. At some places we saw some small hogs, which we could have bought of them reasonably; but we would not offend our Achinese friends, who were Mahometans.

We staid here two or three days, and then rowed toward the south end of the island, keeping on the east side, and we were kindly received by the natives, where-ever we came. When we arrived at the south end of the island, we fitted ourselves with melory and water, and about twelve large cocoa-nut shells, that had all the kernel taken out, yet were preserved whole except only a small hole at one end; and all these held for us about three gallons and a half of water. We bought also two or three bam-

bos, that held about four or five gallons more: this was our sea-store.

We now designed to go to Achin, a town on the N. W. end of the island Sumatra, distant from hence about forty leagues, bearing south south east. We only waited for the western monsoon, which we had expected a great while, and now it seemed to be at hand; for the clouds began to hang their heads to the eastward, and at last moved gently that way; and though the wind was still at east, yet this was an infallible sign that the western monsoon was nigh.

C H A P. XXV.

They put to sea in an open boat, and stand over to Passenge-Jonca, and from thence to Achin.

IT was the 15th day of May, 1688, about four o'clock in the afternoon, when we left Nicobar directing our course towards Achin, being eight men of us in company, viz. three English, four Malayans, who were born at Achin, and the mungrel Portuguese.

Our vessel, the Nicobar canoe, was not one of the biggest, nor of the least size: she was much about the burthen of one of our London wherries below bridge, and built sharp at both ends, like the fore part of a wherry. She was deeper than a wherry, but not so broad, and was so thin and light, that when empty, four men could launch her, or hale her ashore on a sandy bay. We had a good substantial mast, and a mat sail, and good outlagers lash'd very fast and firm on each side the vessel, being made of strong poles. So that while these continued firm, the vessel could not overset, which she

she would easily have done without them, and with them too, had they not been made very strong; and we were therefore much beholden to our Achinese companions for this contrivance.

These men were none of them so sensible of the danger as Mr. Hall and myself; for they all confined so much in us, that they did not so much as scruple any thing that we approved of; neither was Mr. Hall so well provided as I was, for before we left the ship, I had purposely consulted our draft of the East Indies, for we had but one in the ship, and out of that I had written in my pocket book an account of the bearing and distance of all the Malacca coast, and that of Sumatra, Pegu, and Siam, and also brought away with me a pocket compass for my direction, in any enterprize that I should undertake.

The weather at our setting out, was very fair, clear and hot. The wind was still at S. E. a very small breeze, just fanning the air, and the clouds were moving gently from west to east, which gave us hopes that the winds were either at west already, abroad at sea, or would be so in a very short time. We took this opportunity of fair weather, being in hopes to accomplish our voyage to Achin, before the western monsoon was set in strong, knowing that we should have very blustering weather after this fair weather, especially at the first coming of the western monsoon.

We rowed therefore away to the southward, supposing that when we were clear from the island we should have a true wind, as we call it, for the land hales the wind; and we often find the wind at sea different from what it is near the shore. We rowed the first afternoon, and the night ensuing, about twelve leagues by my judgment. Our course was south south east, but the 16th day in the morning,
when

when the sun was an hour high, we saw the island from whence we came, bearing N.W. by N. therefore I found we had gone a point more to the east than I intended, for which reason we steered south by east.

In the afternoon at four o'clock, we had a gentle breeze at W. S. W. which continued so till nine, all which time we laid down our oars, and steered away S. S. E. I was then at the helm, and I found by the rippling of the sea, that there was a strong current against us. It made a great noise that might be heard near half a mile. At nine o'clock it fell calm, and so continued till ten. Then the wind sprung up again, and blew a fresh breeze all night.

The 17th day in the morning we look'd out for the island Sumatra, supposing that we were now within twenty leagues of it; for we had rowed and sailed, by our reckoning twenty-four leagues from Nicobar island; and the distance from Nicobar to Achin is about forty leagues. But we look'd in vain for the island Sumatra; for turning ourselves about, we saw to our grief, Nicobar island, lying W. N. W. and not above eight leagues distant. By this it was visible, that we had met a very strong current against us in the night. But the wind freshened on us, and we made the best use of it while the weather continued fair. At noon we had an observation of the sun; my lat. was 6 d. 55 m. and Mr. Hall's was 7 d. north.

The 18th day the wind freshened on us again, and the sky began to be clouded. It was indifferent clear till noon, and we thought to have had an observation, but were hindered by the clouds that covered the face of the sun, when it came on the meridian. This often happens that we are disappointed of making observations, by the sun's being
clouded

clouded at noon, though it shines clear both before and after, especially in places near the sun; and this obscuring of the sun at noon, is commonly sudden and unexpected, and for about half an hour or more.

We had then also a very ill presage, by a great circle about the sun (five or six times the diameter of it) which seldom appears, but storms of wind, or much rain ensue. Such circles about the moon are more frequent but of less import. We commonly take great notice of these that are about the sun, observing if there be any breach in the circle, and in what quarter the breach is, for from thence we commonly find the greatest stress of the wind will come. I must confess that I was a little anxious at the sight of this circle, and wish'd heartily that we were near some land. Yet I shewed no sign of it to discourage my consorts, but made a virtue of necessity, and put a good countenance on the matter.

I told Mr. Hall that if the wind became too strong and violent, as I feared it would, it being even then very strong, we must of necessity steer away before the wind and sea, till better weather presented; and that as the winds were now, we should, instead of about twenty leagues to Achin, be driven sixty or seventy leagues to the coast of Cudda or Queda, a kingdom, and town, and harbour of trade on the coast of Malacca.

The winds therefore bearing very hard, we rolled up the foot of our sail on a pole fastened to it, and settled our yard within three feet of the canoe sides, so that we had now but a small sail, yet it was still too big, considering the wind; for the wind being on our broad side, prest her down very much, tho' supported by her outlagers; insomuch that the poles of the outlagers going from the sides of the vessel,

vessel, bent as if they would break; and should they have broken, our overturning and perishing had been inevitable; besides, the sea increasing, would soon have filled the vessel this way. Yet thus we made a shift to bear up with the side of the vessel against the wind for a while; but the wind still encreasing, about one o'clock in the afternoon we put away right before wind and sea, continuing to run thus all the afternoon, and part of the night ensuing. The wind continued, increasing all the afternoon, and the sea still swell'd higher, and often broke, but did us no damage; for the ends of the vessel being very narrow, he that steered received and broke the sea on his back, and so kept it from coming in so much as to endanger the vessel; tho' much water would come in, which we were forced to keep heaving out continually. And by this time we saw it was well that we had altered our course, every wave would else have fill'd and sunk us, taking the side of the vessel; and though our outlagers were well lash'd down to the canoe's bottom with rattans, yet they must probably have yielded to such a sea as this, when even before, they were plunged under water, and bent like twigs.

The evening of this 18th day was very dismal; the sky looked very black, being covered with dark clouds, the wind blew hard, and the seas ran high. The sea was already roaring in a white foam about us; a dark night coming on, and no land in sight to shelter us, and our little bark in danger to be swallowed by every wave; and what was worst of all, none of us thought ourselves prepared for another world. The reader may better guess, than I can express, the confusion that we were all in. I had been in many eminent dangers before now, some of which I have already related, but the worst of them all was but a play-game, in comparison
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with this. I must confess that I was in great conflicts of mind at this time. Other dangers came not upon me with such a leisurely and dreadful solemnity: a sudden skirmish or engagement, or so, was nothing when ones blood was up, and push'd forwards with eager expectations. But here I had a lingering view of approaching death, and little or no hopes of escaping it; and I must confess that my courage, which I had hitherto kept up, failed me here, and I made very sad reflections on my former life, and look'd back with horror and detestation, on actions which before I disliked, but now I trembled at the remembrance of. I had long before this repented me of that roving course of life, but never with such concern as now. I did also call to mind the many miraculous acts of God's providence towards me, in the whole course of my life, of which kind, I believe few men have met with the like. For all these I returned thanks in a peculiar manner, and this once more desired God's assistance, and composed my mind, as well as I could, in the hopes of it, and, as the event shew'd, I was not disappointed of my hopes.

Submitting ourselves therefore to God's good providence, and taking all the care we could to preserve our lives, Mr. Hall and I took turns to steer, and the rest took turns to heave out the water, and thus we provided to spend the most doleful night I ever was in. About ten o'clock it began to thunder, lighten and rain; but the rain was very welcome to us, having drank up all the water we brought from the island.

The wind at first blew harder than before, but within half an hour it abated, and became more moderate, and the sea also asswaged of its fury; and then by a lighted match, of which we kept a piece burning on purpose, we looked on our compass, to
see

see how we steered, and found our course to be still east. We had no occasion to look on the compass before, for we steered right before the wind, which if it had shifted, we had been obliged to have altered our course accordingly. But now it being abated, we found our vessel lively enough with that small sail which was then on board, to hale to our former course, S. S. E. which accordingly we did, being now in hopes again to get to the island Sumatra. But about two o'clock in the morning of the 19th day, we had another gust of wind, with much thunder, lightning, and rain, which lasted till day, and obliged us to put before the wind again, steering thus for several hours. It was very dark, and the hard rain soaked us so thoroughly, that we had not one dry thread about us. The rain chill'd us extremly; for any fresh water is much colder than that of the sea. For even in the coldest climates the sea is warm, and in the hottest climates the rain is cold and unwholesome for man's body. In this wet starvling plight we spent the tedious night. Never did poor mariners on a lee shore more earnestly long for the dawning light, than we did now. At length the day appeared; but with such dark black clouds near the horizon, that the first glimpse of the dawn appeared thirty or forty degrees high; which was dreadful enough; for it is a common saying among seamen, and true, as I have experienced, that a high dawn will have high winds, and a low dawn, small winds.

We continued our course still east, before wind and sea, till about eight o'clock in the morning of this 19th day; and then one of our Malayan friends cried out. Pulo way. Mr. Hall, Ambrose and I, thought the fellow had said pull away, an expression usual among English seamen, when they are rowing. And we wondered what he meant by it,
till

till we saw him point to his consorts; and then we looking that way, saw land appearing, like an island, and all our Malaysans said it was an island at the N. W. end of Sumatra, called Way for Pulo Way, is the island Way. We, who were dropping with wet, cold and hungry, were all overjoyed at the sight of the land, and presently marked its bearing. It bore south, and the wind was still at west, a strong gale; but the sea did not run so high as in the night. Therefore we trimmed our small sail no bigger than an apron, and steered with it. Now our outlayers did us a great kindness again, for although we had but a small sail, yet the wind was strong, and prest down our vessel's side very much; but being supported by the outlayers, we could brook it well enough, which otherwise we could not have done.

About noon we saw more land beneath the supposed Pulo Way; and steering towards it, before night we saw all the coast of Sumatra, and found the errors of our Achinese; for the high land that we first saw, which then appeared like an island, was not Pulo Way, but a great high mountrain on the island Sumatra, called by the English the Golden Mountain. Our wind continued till about seven o'clock at night, then it abated, and at ten it died away; and then we stuck to our oars again, though all of us quite tired with our former fatigues and hardships.

The next morning being the 20th day, we saw all the low land plain, and judged ourselves not above eight leagues off. About eight o'clock in the morning we had the wind again at west, a fresh gale, and steering in still for the shore, at five o'clock in the afternoon we run to the mouth of the river on the island Sumatra, called Passange Jonca. It is thirty four leagues to the eastward of Achin, and
fix

six leagues to the west of Diamond Point, which makes with three angles of a rhombus, and is low land.

Our Malaysans were very well acquainted here, and carried us to a small fishing village within a mile of the river's mouth, called also by the name of the river, Passange Jonca. The hardships of this voyage, with the scorching heat of the sun, at our first setting out, and the cold rain, and our continuing wet for the last two days, cast us all into fevers, so that now we were not able to help each other, nor so much as to get our canoe up to the village; but our Malaysans got some of the townsmen to bring her up.

The news of our arrival being noised abroad, one of the Oramkais or noblemen of the island came in the night to see us. We were then lying in a small hut, at the end of the town, and it being late, this lord only viewed us, and having spoken with our Malaysans, went away, but he returned to us again the next day, and provided a large house for us to live in, till we should be recovered of our sickness; ordering the towns people to let us want for nothing. The Achinese Malaysans that came with us, told them all the circumstances of our voyage; how they were taken by our ship, and where, and how we that came with them were prisoners on board the ship, and had been set ashore at Nicobar, as they were. It was for this reason probably, that the gentlemen of Sumatra were thus extraordinary kind to us, to provide every thing that we had need of; nay, they would force us to accept of presents from them, that we knew not what to do with; as young buffaloes, goats, &c. for these we would turn loose at night, after the gentlemen who gave them to us were gone, for we were prompted by our Achinese consorts to accept
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of them, for fear of disobliging by our refusal. But the cocoa-nuts, plantains, fowls, eggs, fish and rice, we kept for our use. The Malaysans that accompanied us from Nicobar separated themselves from us now living at one end of the house by themselves, for they were Mahometans, as all those of the kingdom of Achin are; and though during our passage by sea together, we made them content to drink their water out of the same cocoa shell with us; yet being now no longer under that necessity, they again took up their accustomed nicety and reservedness. They all lay sick, and as their sickness increased, one of them threatned us that if any of them died, the rest should kill us, for having brought them this voyage; yet I question whether they would have attempted, or the country people have suffered it. We made a shift to dress our own food, for none of these people, though they were very kind in giving us any thing that we wanted, would yet come near us, to assist us in dressing our victuals; nay, they would not touch any thing that we used. We had all fevers, and therefore took turns to dress victuals, according as we had strength to do it, or stomachs to eat. I found my fever to encrease, and my head so distempered, that I could scarce stand, therefore I whetted and sharpened my penknife, in order to let myself blood, but I could not, for my knife was too blunt.

We staid here ten or twelve days, in hopes to recover our health, but finding no amendment, we desired to go to Achin. But we were delayed by the natives, who had a desire to have kept Mr. Hall and myself, to sail in their vessels to Malacca, Cudda, or to other places whither they trade. But finding us more desirous to be with our countrymen, in our factory at Achin, they provided a large

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proe to carry us thither, we not being able to manage our own canoe. Besides, before this three of our Malayan comrades were gone very sick into the country, and only one of them and the Portuguese remained with us, accompanying us to Achin, and they both as sick as we were.

It was the beginning of June, 1688, when we left Passange Jonca. We had four men to row, one to steer, and a gentleman of the country, that went purposely to give an information to the government of our arrival. We were but three days and nights in our passage, having sea breezes by day, and land winds by night, and very fair weather.

When we arrived at Achin, I was carried before the Shabander, the chief magistrate in the city. One Mr. Dennis Driscall, an Irishman, and a resident there, in the factory which our East India company had there then, was interpreter. I being weak, was suffered to stand in the Shabander's presence, for it is their custom to make men sit on the floor, as they do, cross-legged like taylor's; but I had not strength then to pluck up my heels in that manner. The Shabander asked me several questions, especially how we durst venture to come in a canoe from the Nicobar island to Sumatra. I told him, that I had been accustomed to hardships and hazards, therefore I did with much freedom undertake it. He enquired also concerning our ship, whence she came, &c. I told him from the south seas; that she had ranged about the Philippine islands, &c. and was now gone towards Arabia and the Red Sea. The Malayans also and Portuguese were afterward examined, and confirmed what I declared, and in less than half an hour I was dismissed with Mr. Driscall, who then lived in the English East India company's factory. He provided a room for us to lie in, and some victuals.

Three

Three days after our arrival here our Portuguese died of a fever. What became of our Malaysans I know not. Ambrose lived not long after, Mr. Hall also was so weak, that I did not think he would recover. I was the best, yet still very sick of a fever, and little likely to live. Therefore Mr. Driscoll, and some other Englishmen, persuaded me to take some purging physick of a Malayan doctor. I took their advice, being willing to get ease; but after three doses, each a large calabash of nasty stuff, finding no amendment, I thought to desist from more physick, but was persuaded to take one dose more, which I did, and it wrought so violently, that I thought it would have ended my days. I struggled till I had been about twenty or thirty times at stool; but it working so quick with me, with little intermission, and my strength being almost spent, I even threw myself down once for all, and had above sixty stools in all before it left off working. I thought my Malayan doctor, whom they so much commended, would have killed me outright. I continued extraordinary weak for some days after his drenching me thus; but my fever left me for above a week, after which it returned upon me again for a twelve month, and a flux with it.

However, when I was a little recovered from the effects of my drench, I made a shift to go abroad; and having been kindly invited to captain Bowrey's house there, my first visit was to him, who had a ship in the road, but lived ashore. This gentleman was extraordinary kind to us all, particularly me, and importuned me to go his boatwain to Persia, whither he was bound, with a design to sell his ship there, as I was told, tho' not by himself. From thence he intended to pass with the caravan to Aleppo, and so home for England. His business required him to stay some time longer at Achin;

I judge to sell some commodities that he had not yet disposed of. Yet he chose rather to leave the disposal of them to some merchant there, and make a short trip to the Nicobar islands in the mean time, and on his return to take in his effects, and so proceed towards Persia. This was a sudden resolution of captain Bowrey's, presently after the arrival of a small frigate from Siam, with an ambassador from the king of Siam to the queen of Achin. The ambassador was a Frenchman by nation. The vessel that he came in was but small, yet very well manned, and fitted for a fight. Therefore it was generally supposed here that captain Bowrey was afraid to lie in Achin road, because the Siamers were now at wars with the English, and he was not able to defend his ship, if he should be attacked by them.

But whatever made him think of going to the Nicobar islands, he provided to sail, and took me, Mr. Hall, and Ambrose with him, tho' all of us so sick and weak that we could do him no service. It was some time about the beginning of June when we sailed out of Achin road, but we met with the wind at N.W. with turbulent weather, which forced us back again in two days time. Yet he gave us each twelve mész a-piece, a gold coin, each of which is about the value of fifteen pence English. So he gave over that design; and some English ships coming into Achin road, he was not afraid of the Siamers who lay there.

After this, he again invited me to his house at Achin, and treated me always with wine and good cheer, and still importuned me to go to Persia with him; being very weak, and fearing the westerly winds would create a great deal of trouble, did not give him a positive answer; especially because I thought I might get a better voyage in the English ships newly arrived, or some others now expected here.

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It was this captain Bowrey who sent the letter from Borneo directed to the chief of the English factory at Mindanao, of which mention is made in chapter XX.

CHAP. XXVI.

His voyage from Achin in Sumatra, to Malacca, Tonquin, and other places in the East-Indies.

A Short time after this, captain Weldon touch-
ed here, in a ship called the Curtana, to sell the slaves he had brought with him from Fort St. George, being in his way to the streights of Malacca, and so to Tonquin, whither he was bound. This afforded me the opportunity of trying that voyage, to which he kindly invited me, and to which I was the more encouraged because he had a good surgeon in his ship, whose advice I needed; and my friend Mr. Hall was particularly animated thereby, who had also resolved upon this voyage, and was in a weaker condition than myself. Besides, captain Weldon promised to buy a sloop at Tonquin, of which he would make me commander, to go a trading voyage from thence to Cochinchina, Champa, Cambodia, or some other of the adjacent countries; which trade has been scarce yet attempted by our countrymen, and there were hopes it might turn to good account; but this project came to nothing.

However, captain Weldon having finished his business at Achin, I set out thence with him thro' the streights of Malacca, and we soon arrived at the town of Malacca; of which town and country I shall have a better occasion to speak hereafter. Here we found the Cæsar of London, commanded by captain Wright, who came from Bombay, and was bound to China. He stopped here to water and

refresh, as is usual for ships to do that pass these streights. By him we were informed that three other English ships had touched here, and were past on to the eastward ten days before. These three ships came from Fort St. George, in company with captain Weldon; but his business calling him to Achin, they in the mean time prosecuting their voyage, got the start of us thus much. The *Cæsar* was soon ready to sail again, and went away the next morning after our arrival at Malacca.

Our captain being a stranger to the bay of Tonquin as were all his ships company, he hired a Dutch pilot at Malacca; and having finished his business there, we set sail, two days after the *Cæsar*. We were desirous to overtake these four ships, and therefore crouded all the sail we could make; having a strong westerly wind, accompanied with many hard gusts and tornadoes. and the next day we got sight of them; for they had not yet passed through a narrow passage, called the streights of Sincapore. We soon got up with them, and past through together; and sailing about three leagues further, we anchored near an island called Pulo Nuttee, belonging to the kingdom of Jihore.

Here captain Weldon took in wood and water, and some of the Indian inhabitants came on board us in their canoes, of whom we bought a few coconuts, plantains, and fresh fish. We staid here not above twenty four hours; for the other ships had filled most of their water at other islands near this, before we came up with them; for tho' ships do usually take in water at Malacca town, yet they do as frequently discharge it again at some of these islands and take in better.

We sailed the next day, and kept near the Malacca shore, and there passing by the mouth of the river Jihore, we left many other islands on our starboard side.

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The river of Jihore runs by the city of that name, which is the seat of that little kingdom of Jihore. This kingdom lies on the continent of Malacca, and consists of the extremity or doubling of the promontory. It abounds with pepper, and other good commodities.

They are a Mahometan people, very warlike, and desirous of trade. They delight much in shipping and going to sea; all the neighbouring islands in a manner being colonies of this kingdom, and under its government. They coast about in their own shipping to several parts of Sumatra, Java, &c. their vessels are but small, yet very serviceable; and the Dutch buy up a great many of them at a small price, and make good trading sloops of them; but they first fit them up after their own fashion, and put a rudder to them, which the Jihorians don't use, tho' they are very good seamen in their way; but they make their vessels sharp at each end, tho' but one end is used as the head; and instead of a rudder, they have on each side the stern a thing like a very broad oar, one of which they let down into the water at pleasure, as there is occasion to steer the ship either to the one side or the other, always letting down that which is to the leeward. They have proes of a particular neatness and curiosity. We call them half-moon proes, for they turn up so much at each end from the water, that they resemble a half-moon with the horns upwards. They are kept very clean, sail well, and are much used by them in their wars. The people of Jihore have formerly endeavoured to get a commerce with our nation; for what reason that trade is neglected by us I know not. The Dutch trade very much there, and have lately endeavoured to bring the king, who is but young to their bow.

At the farther end of the freights of Malacca, among many other islands, we sailed by those of Pulo Oro, and Pulo Timaon; which last is a place often touch'd at for wood, water, and other refreshments, tho' we past it by. Among other things, there are great plenty of excellent green turtle among these islands.

Being at last got clear of all the islands into the wide ocean, we steered away still together till we came in sight of Pulo Condore; when having all brought to, and spoke with each other, we parted for our several voyages. The Cæsar and two others that were bound to China, steered away to the eastward, keeping to the south of Pulo Condore, being their best course, thereby to avoid the large shoals of Pracel. We and the Saphire of Fort St. George, commanded by captain Lacy, steered more northerly, and leaving Pulo Condore on our starboard, we halled in for the continent, and fell in with it near the river of Cambodia: but leaving this also on our starboard side, we coasted along to the eastward, keeping near the Champa shore; and coming to the point of land that bounds the S. W. part of the bay of Tonquin, we doubled it, and coasting to the north, leaving Champa still on our larboard side, and the shoals of Pracel about twelve or fourteen leagues off on our starboard side; we kept along fair by the shore, just without Pulo Canton.

This island lies in about 13 d. north. It is much frequented by the Cochinchinese, whose country begins hereabouts, bordering on the kingdom Champa. They are most fishermen that come hither, and their chief business is to make oil of porposes; for these fish are found in great plenty here at some seasons of the year, and then the Cochinchinese resort hither to take them. The people that we found on Pulo Condore, mentioned in chapter XXI. page

69, vol. II. were of these Cochinchinese. The turtle also which they catch is chiefly to make oil of their fat; and there is great store of turtle on all this coast.

We coasted yet farther on this shore, till we came to the islands of Champello. These may seem to have some affinity to Champa, by the sound of the word, which one would take to be a Portuguese diminutive of Champa; yet they lie on the Cochinchina coast, and belong to it, tho' uninhabited. They are four or five in number, and lie four or five leagues from the shore. They are called Chapello de la Mar, to distinguish them from others lying farther down in the bay of Tonquin, called Champello de Terra. These last lie in about 16 d. 45 m. north, but the islands of Champello de la Mar lie in about 13 d. 45 m. north.

Over against these last islands, on the main, there is a large navigable river empties itself into the sea. The city of Quinam stands on the banks of this river, and is said to be the principal city of the kingdom of Cochinchina. As to its distance from the sea, bigness, strength, riches, &c. I am yet in the dark; only I have been informed, that if a ship is cast away on this kingdom, the seamen that escape drowning and get ashore become slaves to the king. Captain John Tiler was thus served, and despaired of ever getting his freedom; but after a considerable stay there, he was taken notice of by the king, and upon promise of returning again to trade there, he was sent away. I sailed in a vessel of his after this, but I never found him inclined to trade thither any more. However, notwithstanding this their severity to shipwreck'd people, I have been informed by capt. Tiler and others, that they have a desire to trade, tho' they are yet destitute of the means to attain it. This desire of trade, they seem
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to have taken up from some Chinese fugitives, who fled from the Tartars, when they conquered their country; and being kindly received by these Cochinchinese, and having among them many artificers, they instructed their kind protectors in many useful arts, of which they were wholly ignorant before. 'Tis probable that their custom of seizing shipwreck'd seamen may soon vanish by the coming in of trade, which is already advancing among them; for the merchants of China do now drive some small traffic among these people, and fetch thence some small quantities of pepper, lignum aloes, and aguala wood, which is much esteemed for its rare scent, and is very valuable in others parts of India. They also fetch betel from hence, which grows here in great plenty. I have had no account of any shipping the Cochinchinese have of their own, but I have met with them in their open boats of four, five or six tons, employing themselves chiefly in getting pitch and tar from Pulo Condore, in fishing about the coast and island to get oil, and in fetching aguala wood from the bay of Siam; which whether it grows there or no, I cannot tell, but I have heard that it is only drift wood cast ashore by the sea.

The seizing shipwreck'd men has also been a custom at Pegu, but whether still continued I know not. They look'd on such, as men preserved by God, purposely for them to feed and maintain; and therefore the king ordered them to be maintained by his subjects; neither was any work required of them, but they had liberty to beg. By this means they got food and raiment from the inhabitants, who were zealously charitable to them.

But to proceed; we kept a little without all the islands, and coasting five or six leagues further, we stood right over towards the north east cod of the bay

bay of Tonquin. The bay of Tonquin has its entrance between the south east point of Champa on the west side, which lies in the lat. of about 12 d. north, and the island of Aynam near the S. W. part of China, on the east side. The island of Aynam is in about 19 d. north. It is a pretty considerable island, well people with Chinese inhabitants. They have ships of their own, and drive a great trade by sea. I have seen many of their ships, some of one hundred tons, with outlagers on both sides, and others like ordinary jonks, without outlagers; but am wholly ignorant of their trade, any farther than what I have mentioned of their having pearl oysters there.

Near the cod of the bay of Tonquin there are abundance of small islands, of which I shall speak more hereafter. The mouth of the bay seems to be barred up with the great shoal of Pracel, which lies stretched at length before it, yet leaving two wide channels, one at each end, so that ships may pass in or out either way: and therefore even the ships that are bound from the streights of Malacca or Siam to China, may as well pass to and fro within the shoal as without.

The bay of Tonquin is about thirty leagues wide in the broadest place. There is good sounding and anchoring all over it; and in the middle, where it is deepest, there is about forty six fathom water. there you have black ooze, and dark peppery sand; but on the west side there is reddish oozy sand. Besides the other islands before mentioned, there are others of less note on the Cochinchina coast; but none of them above four or five miles from the shore.

In the bottom of the bay also, there are some small islands, close by the Tonquin shore: two of these are of special note, not for their bigness but for sea-marks for the two principal rivers, or mouth
rather

rather of the chief river of Tonquin. One of these rivers or mouths, is called Rokbo. It discharges itself into the sea near the N.W. corner of the bay; and the mouth of it is in about 20 d. 6 m. north. This river or branch I was not at; but have been informed, that it has not above twelve feet water at the entrance, but that its bottom is soft ooze, and therefore very convenient for small vessels, and is the way that all the Chinese and Siamers use. About a league to the westward of this river's mouth, there is a small pretty high island, called Fishers Island. It lies about two miles from the shore, and hath good anchoring about it in seventeen or eighteen feet water; and therefore it is not only a sea-mark for the river, but a secure place to ride in, and very convenient for ships to anchor at, to shelter themselves when they come hither, especially if they have not a present opportunity to enter the river; either because of coming too late in the year, or being hindered by bad weather.

The other river or mouth, was that by which we entered, and is larger and deeper than the former. I know not its particular name; but for distinction I shall call it the river of Domea, because the first town of note, that I saw on its bank, was so called. The mouth of this river is in lat. 20 d. 45 m. It disembogues twenty leagues to the N. E. of Rokbo. There are many dangerous sands and shoals, between these two rivers, which stretch into the sea two leagues or more; and all the coast, even from the Cochinchina shore on the west, to China on the east, admits of shoals and sands, which yet in some places lie stretched farther off from the shore than in others.

This river of Domea is that by which most European ships enter, for the sake of its depth; yet here is a bar of near two miles broad, and the channel

nel is about half a mile broad, having sands on each side. The depth of the river is various at different times and seasons, by the relation of the pilots who are best acquainted here; for at some times of the year here is not above fifteen or sixteen feet water on a spring-tide, and at other times here are twenty six or twenty seven feet. The highest tides are said to be in the month of November, December, and January, when the northerly monsoons blow; and the lowest in May, June, and July, when the southerly monsoons blow; but to be particular in them is beyond my experience.

The channel of the bar is hard sand, which makes it the more dangerous; and the tides whirling among the sands, sets divers ways in a tides time; which makes it the more dangerous still. Therefore ships that come hither, commonly wait for a pilot to direct them, and if they arrive when it is neap-tide, they must stay for a spring before a pilot will come off to take charge of them. The mark of this river is a great high ridgy mountain in the country, called the Elephant. This must be brought to bear N.W. by N. then steering towards the shore, the water runs shallower, till you come into six fathoms, and then you will be two or three miles from the entrance of the bar, and about the same distance from a small island called Pearl Island, which will then bear nearest N. N. E. Having these marks and depth, you may anchor and wait for a pilot.

The pilots for this river are fishermen, who live at a village called Batsha, at the mouth of the river; so seated, that they can see all ships that wait for a pilot, and hear the guns too, that are often fired as signals by Europeans, to give notice of their arrival.

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It was in the road before the bar, in sight of the Elephant land, that we found the Rainbow of London, captain Pool commander, riding and waiting for a pilot, when we and captain Lacy arrived. Captain Pool came directly from England, and passing thro' the streights of Sundy, touched at Batavia.

He had lain here two or three days before we arrived; but the spring-tides coming on, the pilots came on board, and we all three in company passed over the bar, and entering about half flood, we had fourteen feet and a half water on the bar. Being got over the bar we found it deeper, and the bottom soft ooze. The river at its mouth is above a mile wide, but grows narrower as you run farther up. We had a moderate sea-breeze, and having a good tide of flood, made the best of it to reach to our anchoring place.

Having run about five or six leagues up the river, we past by a village called Domea. This is a handsome village; and was the first of note that we saw standing on the banks. 'Tis seated on the star-board side going up, and so near the river, that the tide sometimes washes the walls of the houses; for the tide rises and falls here nine or ten feet. This village consists of about one hundred houses. Dutch ships that trade here always lie in the river before this town; and the Dutch seamen, by their annual returns from Batavia, are very intimate with the natives, and as free here as at their own homes: for the Tonquinese in general are a very sociable people, especially the traders and poorer sort: but of this more in its proper place. The Dutch have instructed the natives in the art of gardening, by which means they have abundance of herbage for fallading, which among other things is a great refreshment to the Dutch seamen, when they arrive here. Tho'

Tho' the Dutch who come to trade in this kingdom, go no higher with their ships than this Domea, yet the English usually go about three miles farther up, and there lie at anchor during their stay in this country. We did so at this time, and passing by Domea came to an anchor at that distance. The tide is not so strong here as at Domea, but we found not one house near it; yet our ships had not lain there many days before the natives came from all the country about, and fell to building them houses after their fashion, so that in a months time there was a little town built near our anchoring-place. This is no unusual thing in other parts of India, especially where ships lie long at a place, the poorer sort of the natives taking this opportunity to truck and barter; and by some little offices, or begging, but especially by bringing women to let to hire, they get what they can of the seamen.

This place where our ships rode at anchor was not above twenty miles from the sea, but the trade of the kingdom is driven at Cachao, the principal city where for that reason the English and Dutch East India companies have each of them their factors constantly residing. The city was farther up the river, about eighty miles from our anchoring place, and our captains got themselves in readiness to go up thither; it being usual to send up the goods in the country boats, which are large and commodious enough, and the hire is pretty reasonable both for the vessels and the men who manage them. They are Tonquinese, and use both oars and sails. Our factory at Cachao had news of our arrival before we came to an anchor, and immediately the chief of the factory, with some of the king of Tonquin's officers, came down to us, by that time we had lain there about four or five days. The Tonquinese officers came to take an account
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of the ships and lading, and our captains received them with great civility, firing of guns, feasting for two or three days, and presents also at their return back to Cachao.

Soon after their departure, the chief of the factory returned thither again, and with him went our three captains, and some others, among whom I got leave to go also. Captain Weldon had recommended me to the chief of the factory, while he was on board us; and my going up now to the city, was in order to have his assistance in the voyage to Cochinchina, Champa, or Cambodia, which captain Weldon had contrived for me; nor was it his fault that it came to nothing.

We went from our ships in the country boats we had hired, with the tide of flood, and anchored in the ebb; for the tide runs strong for thirty or forty miles, beyond the place where we left our ships. Our men contented themselves with looking after their goods (the Tonquinese being very light fingered) and left the management of the boats entirely to the boats crew. Their boats have but one mast; and when the wind is against them they take it down, and ply their oars. As we advanced thus up the river, sometimes rowing sometimes sailing, we had a delightful prospect over a large level fruitful country. It was generally either pasture or rice fields, and void of trees, except only about the villages, which stood thick, and appeared mighty pleasant at a distance. There are many of these villages stand close to the banks of the rivers, encompassed with trees on the backside only, but open to the river.

When we came near any of these villages, we were commonly encountered with beggars, who came off to us, in little boats made of twigs, and plaistered over both inside and outside with clay,
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but very leaky. These were a poor leprous people, who for that reason are compelled by the rest to live by themselves, and are permitted to beg publickly. As soon as they spied us they set up a loud doleful cry, and as we passed by, we threw them some rice, which they received with great appearance of joy.

In about four days time we got to Hean, a town on the east side of the river, which is here entire; for a little before we came to Hean, we met the main stream where it parts into the channels of Domea, which we came up, and the other of Rokbo, making a large and triangular island between them and the sea; the mouths of those channels being, as I have said, twenty leagues asunder.

Hean is about sixty miles from the place where we left our ships, and about eighty from the sea that way; but along the river or channel Rokbo, where the land tends more to the southward, it seems to be farther distant from the sea. It is a considerable town, of about two thousand houses, but the inhabitants are most poor people and soldiers, who keep a garrison there, tho' it has neither walls, fort, nor great guns.

Here is one street belonging to the Chinese merchants: for some years ago, a great many lived at Cachao, till they grew so numerous, that the natives themselves were even swallowed up by them. The king taking notice of it, ordered them to remove from thence, allowing them to live any where but in the city. But the major part of them presently forsook the country, as not finding it convenient for them to live any where but at Cachao, because that is the only place of trade in the country, and trade is the life of a Chinese. However some of them were content to settle at Hean, where they have remained ever since. And these merchants, notwithstanding the prohibition, go often to Ca-

chao, to buy and sell goods, but are not suffered to make it their constant residence. There were two of these China merchants who traded yearly to Japan, with raw and wrought silks, bringing back money, chiefly. These all of them wore long hair braided behind, as their own country fashion was before the Tartarian conquest. The French too have their factory here, not being allowed to fix at Cachao, and their bishop's palace is the fairest building in Hean; but of this I shall have occasion to speak more hereafter.

The governor of the adjacent province lives here. He is one of the principal mandarins of the nation, and has always a great many soldiers in the town, and inferior officers, whom he employs at his pleasure, on any occasion. Besides, here are also some of the king's river frigates, which I shall hereafter describe, ready to be sent on any expedition: and tho' no Europeans come up so far with their ships, that I could learn, yet the Siamites and Chinese bring their ships up the river Rokbo, quite to Hean, and lie at anchor before it; and we found there several Chinese jonks. They ride afloat in the middle of the river, for the water does not rise and fall much at this place; neither is the flood discerned by the turning of the stream, for that always runs down, tho' not so swift near full sea as at other times; for the tide pressing against the stream, tho' faintly so far up the river, has not power to turn it, but only slackens its course, and makes the water rise a little.

The governor or his deputy gives his chop or pass to all vessels that go up or down, not so much as a boat being suffered to proceed without it; for which reason we also made a stop, yet we staid here but a little while, and therefore I did not now go ashore,

ashore, but had a while after this a better opportunity of seeing Hean.

From Hean we went up to Cachao in our boats, being about two days more on our voyage, for we had no tide to help us. We landed at the English factory, and I staid there seven or eight days, before I went down to our ships again in one of the country boats. We had good weather coming up; but it rained all the time of this my first stay at Cachao, and we had much wet weather after this. But having got thus far, I shall now proceed to give some general account of this country, from my own observations, and the experience of merchants and others worthy of credit, who have had their residence there, and some of them a great many years.

CHAP. XXVII.

The natural state of Tonquin.

THE kingdom of Tonquin is bounded to the north and north east with China; to the west with the kingdom of Laos; to the south and east, with Cochinchina and the sea, which washes a part of this kingdom. As to the particular bounds or extent of it, I cannot be a competent judge, coming to it by sea, and going directly up to Cachao; but it is reasonable to believe it to be a pretty large kingdom, by the many great provinces which are said to be contained in it. That part of the kingdom that borders on the sea, is all very low land, neither is there any hill to be seen, but the Elephant mountain, and a ridge of a much less height, continued from thence to the mouth of the river of Domea. The land for about sixty miles up in the country is still very low, even and plain; nor is it

much higher for about forty miles farther, quite to Cachao, and beyond it, tho' generally of a tolerable good height, and with some gentle risings here and there, that make it a fine pleasant champiagn; and the further side of this also is more level than the champaign country itself about Hean or Cachao. Farther still to the north, beyond all this, I have been informed that there is a chain of high mountains, running cross the country, from east to west; but I could get no intimation of what is beyond them.

The soil of this country is generally very rich: that very low land I speak of towards the sea, is most black earth, and the mould pretty deep. In some places there is very strong clay. The champaign land is generally yellowish or greyish earth, of a looser and more friable substance than the former; yet in some places it has a touch of the clay too. In the plain country, near the mountains last mentioned, there are said to be some high steep rocks of marble scattered up and down at unequal distances, which standing in that large plain savannah, appear like so many great towers or castles; and are the more visible, because the land about them is not burthen'd with wood, as in some places in its neighbourhood.

I have said somewhat already of the great river, and its two branches, Rokbo and Domea, where-with this country is chiefly water'd; tho' it is not destitute of many other pleasant streams, that are lost in these, in their course towards the sea; and probably there are many others, that run immediately into the sea, through their own channels, tho' not so navigable as the other. The country in general is very well watered, and by means of the great navigable river and its branches, has the opportunity of foreign trade. This rises about the
mountains

mountains in the north, or from beyond them; whence running southerly towards the sea, it passes thro' the before mentioned plain of marble rocks, and by that time it comes to Cachao, which is about forty or fifty miles to the south of the mountains; 'tis about as broad as the Thames at Lambeth, yet so shallow in the dry season, that it may be forded on horseback. At Hean, twenty miles lower, 'tis rather broader than the Thames at Gravesend; and so below Hean to the place where it divides itself.

The kingdom of Tonquin is said to be divided into eight large provinces, viz. the East and west provinces, the North and South provinces, and the province of Cachao in the middle between those four; which five I take to be the principal provinces, making the heart of the country. The other three, which are Tenan, Tenehoa, and Ngeam, lie more upon the borders.

The province of Tenan is the most easterly having China on the south east; the island Aynam and the sea on the south and south west; and the East province on the north west. This is but a small province; its chief product is rice.

The East province stretches away from Tenan to the North province, having also China on its east side, part of the South province, and the province of Cachao on the west, and the sea on the south. This is a very large province; 'tis chiefly low land, and much of it islands, especially the south east part of it, bordering on the sea towards Tenan, where the sea makes the cod of a bay. It has abundance of fishermen inhabiting near the sea; but its chief produce is rice; here is also good pasturage, and much cattle, &c. Hean is the chief place of this province, and the seat of the mandarin its governor.

The south province is the triangular island, made by the sea; the river of Domea is on it's east side, dividing it from the East province, and Rokbo on the west, dividing it from Tenan, having the sea to its south. This province is very low, plain even land, producing rice in great abundance: here are large pastures, and abundance of fishermen near the sea.

Tenehoa to the west of Rokbo, has the west province on its north, Aynam on its west, and the sea on its south: this province is also low land, chiefly abounds in rice and cattle, and hath a great trade in fishing, as all the sea coast has in general.

The province of Ngeam, hath Tenehoa on the east, and on the south and west it borders on Cochinchina, and has the west province on its north. This is a pretty large province, abounding with rice and cattle: and here are always soldiers kept to guard the frontiers from the Cochinchinese.

The West province hath Ngeam on the south; the kingdom of Laos on the west; the province of Cachao on the east, and on the north the North province. This is a large province, and good champaign land, rich in soil, partly woody, partly pasture. The product of this province is chiefly in lack; and here are bred a great abundance of silk-worms for making silk.

The North province is a large tract of land, making the north side of this whole kingdom. It hath the kingdom of Laos on the west, and China on the east and north, the kingdom of Bao or Bao-tan on the north west, and on the south it borders on three of the principal provinces of Tonquin, viz. the West province, that of Cachao, and the East province. This North province, as it is large, so it has variety of land and soil, a great deal of plain champaign land, and many high mountains which
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yield gold, &c. the wild elephants of this country are found mostly on these mountains. The other parts of this province produce lack and silk, &c.

The province of Cachao, in the heart of the kingdom, lies between the East, West, North, and South provinces; 'tis a champaign pleasant country; the soil is yellow or grey earth, and 'tis pretty woody, with some savannahs. It abounds with the two principal commodities of their trade, viz. lack and silk, and has some rice; nor are any of the provinces destitute of these commodities, tho' in different proportions, each according to the respective soil.

This country has of its own growth all necessities for the life of man. They have little occasion for eatable roots, having such plenty of rice, yet they have yams and potatoes for variety, which would thrive here as well as any where, were the natives industrious to propagate them.

The land is every where cloathed with herbage of one kind or other, but the dry land has the same fate that most dry lands have between the tropicks, to be over-run with purslain; which growing wild, and being pernicious to other tender herbs and plants, they are at the pains to weed it out of their fields and gardens, tho' 'tis very sweet, and makes a good fallad for a hot country.

There is a sort of herb very common in this country, which grows wild in stagnant ponds, and floats on the surface of the water. It has a narrow long, green thick leaf. It is much esteemed and eaten by the natives, who commend it for a very wholesome herb, and say that 'tis good to expel poison. This country produces many other sorts of wild herbs, and their gardens also are well furnished with pleasant and wholesome ones, especially onions, of which here are great plenty.

Plantains and bonanoes grow and thrive here as well as any where, but they are used here only as fruit, and not for bread, as in many places of America. Besides these, here are divers sorts of excellent fruits, both ground and tree fruit. The ground fruits are pumpions, melons, pine-apples, &c. the tree fruits are mangoes a few, oranges, limes, cocoa-nuts, guavas, mulberries; their much esteem'd betel, a fruit called Lichea, &c. The oranges are of divers sorts, and two of them more excellent than the rest. One sort is called cam-chain, the other is called cam-quit. Cam, in the Tonpuinese language signifies an orange, but what the distinguishing words chain and quit signify, I know not.

The cam-chain is a large orange, of a yellowish colour; the rind is pretty thick and rough, and the inside is yellow like amber. It has a most fragrant smell, and the taste is delicious. This sort of orange is the best that I ever tasted; I believe there are not better in the world: a man may eat freely of them, for they are so innocent, that they are not denied to such as have fevers, and other sick people.

The cam-quit is a very small round fruit, not above half so big as the former. It is of a deep red colour, and the rind very smooth and thin. The inside also is very red; the taste is not inferior to the cam-chain, but it is accounted very unwholesome fruit, especially to such as are subject to fluxes, for it both creates and heightens that distemper. These two sorts are very plentiful and cheap, and are in season from October till February, but then the cam-chain becomes redder, and the rind is also thinner. The other sorts of oranges are not much esteemed.

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The limes of Tonquin are the largest I ever saw. They are commonly as big as an ordinary lemon, but rounder: the rind is of a pale yellow colour when ripe; very thin and smooth. They are extraordinary juicy, but not near so sharp, or tart in taste as the West Indian limes.

Cocoa nuts and guavas thrive very well here; but there are not many of the latter.

The betel of Tonquin is said to be the best in India; there is plenty of it, and 'tis most esteemed when it is young, green, and tender, for 'tis then very juicy. At Mindanao also they like it best green; but in other places of the East-Indies it is commonly chew'd when it is hard and dry.

The lichea is another delicate fruit. 'Tis as big as a small pear, somewhat long shaped, of a reddish colour, the rind pretty thick and rough, the inside white, enclosing a large black kernel, in shape like a bean.

The country is in some part woody; but the low land in general is either grassy pasture, or rice fields, only thick set with small groves, which stand scattering very pleasantly all over the low country. The trees in the groves are of divers sorts, and most unknown to us. There is good timber, for building either ships or houses, and indifferent good masts may here be had.

There is a tree called by the natives pone, chiefly used for making cabinets, or other wares to be lacquered: this is a soft sort of wood, not much unlike fir, but not so serviceable. Another tree grows in this country that yields the lack, with which cabinets and other fine things are overlaid. These grow plentifully in some places especially in the champaign lands. Here are also mulberry trees in great plenty, to feed the silk worms, from whence comes the chief trade in the country. The leaves

leaves of the old trees are not so nourishing to the silk-worms, as those of the young trees, and therefore they raise crops of young ones every year, to feed the worms: for when the season is over, the young trees are pluck'd up by the roots, and more planted against the next year; so that the natives suffer none of these trees to grow to bear fruit. I heard of no mulberries kept for eating, but some few raised by our English merchants at Hean, and these bear but small hungry fruit.

Here is good plenty of rice, especially in the low land, that is fatned by the overflowing rivers. They have two crops every year, with great increase, if they have seasonable rains and floods. One crop is in May, and the other in November; and tho' the low land is sometimes overflown with water in the time of harvest, yet they matter it not, but gather the crop and fetch it home wet in their canoes; and making the rice fast in small bundles, hang it up in their houses to dry. This serves them for bread corn, and as the country is very kindly for it, so the inhabitants live chiefly of it.

Of land animals in this country there are elephants, horses, buffaloes, bullocks, goats, deer, a few sheep for their king, hogs, dogs, cats, lizards, snakes, scorpions, centapees, toads, frogs, &c. The country is so very populous, that they have but few deer or wild game for hunting, unless it be in the remoter parts of the kingdom. But they have abundance of fowls both wild and tame. The tame fowls are cocks, and hens, and ducks also in great plenty, of the same sort with ours. The inhabitants have little houses made purposely for the ducks to lay their eggs in, driving them in every night in laying time, and letting them out again in the morning. There are also some geese, parrots, partridges, parakites, turtle doves, &c. with many
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sorts of smaller birds. Of wild water-fowls they have ducks, widgeons, teals, herons, pelicans, and crab-catchers, which I have described in the bay of Campeachy, and other smaller water-fowls. The duck, widgeon, and teal are innumerable; they breed here in the months of May, June, and July, then they only fly in couples; but from October to March you will see all over the low watery lands great companies together: I have no where seen such large flights, nor such plenty of game. They are very shy since the English and Dutch settled here, for now the natives as well as they shoot them; but before their arrival the Tonquinese took them only with nets; neither is this custom left off yet. The net that is used for this game is made square, and either bigger or less according as they have occasion. They fix two poles about ten or eleven feet high, upright in the ground, near the pond, where the ducks haunt; and the net has a head-cord, which is stretched out streight, made from the top of one pole to the other, from whence the lower part of the net hangs down loose towards the ground; and when in the evening they fly towards the pond, many of them strike against the net, and are there entangled.

There is a kind of locust in Tonquin, in great abundance. This creature is about the bigness of the top of a man's finger, and as long as the first joint. It breeds in the earth, especially in the banks of rivers and ditches in the low country. In the months of January and February, which is the season of taking them, being then only seen, these creatures first come out of the earth in huge swarms, being then of a whitish colour, and having two small wings like the wings of a bee: at its first coming out of the earth it takes its flight, but for want of strength or use falls down again in a short time.

time. Such as strive to fly over the river, commonly fall down into the water, and are drowned, or become a prey to the fish of the river, or are carried out into the sea to be devoured there: but the natives in these months watch the rivers, and take up thence multitudes, skimming them from off the water with little nets. They eat them fresh, broiled on the coals, or pickle them to keep. They are plump and fat, and are much esteemed both by rich and poor, as good wholesome food, either fresh or pickled.

The rivers and ponds are stored with divers sorts of excellent fish, besides abundance of frogs, which they angle for, being highly esteemed by the Tonquinese. The sea too contributes much towards the support of the poor people, by yielding plentiful stores of fish, that swarm on this coast in their seasons, and which are commonly prefer'd before the river fish. Of these here are divers sorts, besides sea-turtle, which frequently come ashore on the sandy bays, in their seasons, to lay their eggs. Here are also both land crabs and sea crabs good store, and other shell-fish, viz. craw fish, shrimps, and prawns. Here is one sort of small fish much like an anchovy, both in shape and size, which is very good pickled. There are other sorts of small fish, which I know not the names of. One sort of them comes in great shoals near the shore, and these the fishermen with their nets take so plentifully as to load their boats with them. Among these they generally take a great many shrimps in their nets, which they carry ashore mix'd together as they take them, and make balachaun with them.

Balachaun is a composition of a strong favor, yet a very delightful dish to the natives of this country. To make it, they throw the mixture of shrimps and small fish into a sort of weak pickle made with salt

salt and water, and put into a tight earthen vessel or jar. The pickle being thus weak, it keeps not the fish firm and hard, neither is it probably so designed, for the fish are never gutted. Therefore in a short time they all turn to a mash in the vessel; and when they have lain thus a good while, so that the fish is reduced to a pap, they then draw off the liquor into fresh jars, and preserve it for use. The mash'd fish that remains behind is called balachaun, and the liquor poured off is called nuke-mum. The poor people eat the Balachaun with their rice. 'Tis rank scented, yet the taste is not altogether unpleasant, but rather savory, after one is a little used to it. The nuke-mum is of a pale brown colour, inclining to grey, and pretty clear; it is also very savory, and used as a good sauce for fowls, not only by the natives, but also by many Europeans, who esteem it equal with soy. I have been told that soy is made partly with a fishy composition, and it seems most likely by the taste; tho' a gentleman of my acquaintance, who was very intimate with one that sailed often from Tonquin to Japan, from whence the true soy comes, told me, that it was made only with wheat, and a sort of beans mixed with water and salt.

Their way of fishing differs little from ours; in the rivers they take some of their fish with hook and line, others with nets of several sorts. At the mouths of the rivers, they set nets against the stream or tide. These have two long wings opening on each side the mouth of the net, to guide the fish into it; where passing through a narrow neck, they are caught in a bag at the farther end.

Where the river's mouth is so wide, that the wings of the net will not reach from side to side, as at Batsha particularly it will not, there they supply that defect, with long slender canes, which they
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stick upright near one another in a row: for on both sides of the river, when the tide runs strong, which is the time that the fish are moving, the limber canes make such a rattling, by striking against each other, that thereby the fish are scared from thence towards the mouth of the net, in the middle of the stream. Farther up the river, they have nets made square like a great sheet. This sort hath two long poles laid across each other. At this crossing of the poles a long rope is fastned, and the net hangs down in a bag by its corners from them. To manage it there is a substantial post, set upright and firm in the river, and the top of it may be eight or ten feet above the water. On the top of this post there is a mortice made, to receive a long pole, that lies athwart like the beam of a balance; to the heavier end of which they tie the rope which holds the net, and to the other end another rope to pull up the net on occasion. The fishermen sink it with stones to the river's bottom, and when they see any fish come over it, one suddenly pulls the rope at the opposite end of the beam, and heaves net and fish out of the water. They take a great deal of fish this way; and sometimes they use drag-nets, which go quite across, and sweep the river.

In the stagnant ponds, such as the Mandarins have commonly about their houses, they go in and trouble the waters with their feet, till it is all muddy and thick; and as the fish rise to the surface, they take what they please with small nets, fastned to a hoop, at the end of a pole.

For all these sorts of provision there are markets duly kept all over Tonquin, one in a week, in a neighbourhood of four or five villages; and held at each of them successively in their order; so that the same village has not the market returned to it till four or five weeks after. These markets are abundantly

abundantly more stor'd with rice (as being their chief subsistence, especially of the poorer sort) than either with flesh or fish, yet wants there not for pork, and young pigs good store; ducks and hens, plenty of eggs, fish great and small, fresh and salted Balachaun and nuke-mum, with all sorts of roots herbs, and fruits, even in these country markets. But at Cachao, where there are markets kept every day, they have besides these, beef of bullocks, buffalo's flesh, goat's flesh, horse flesh, cats and dogs, as I have been told, and locusts.

They dress their food very cleanly, and make it savory; for which they have several ways unknown in Europe, but they have many sorts of dishes, that would turn the stomach of a stranger, which yet they themselves like very well; as particularly, a dish of raw pork, which is very cheap and common. This is only pork cut and minced very small, fat and lean together; which being afterwards made up in balls, or rolls like sausages, and prest very hard together, is then neatly wrapt up in clean leaves, and without more ado, served up to the table. Raw beef is another dish much esteemed at Cachao. When they kill a bullock they singe the hair off with fire, as we singe bacon hogs in England; then they open it, and while the flesh is yet hot, they cut good collops from off the lean parts, and put them into very tart vinegar, where it remains three or four hours, or longer, till it is sufficiently soaked, and then, without more trouble, they take it out, and eat it with great delight. As for horse flesh, I know not whether they kill any purposely for the shambles, or whether they only do it when they are not likely to live, as I have seen them do their working bullocks at Galicia in Old Spain; where the cattle falling down with labour, and being so poor and tired, that they cannot
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rise, they are slaughtered and sent to market, and I think I never eat worse beef than at the Groin. The horse flesh comes to market at Cachao very frequently, and is as much esteemed as beef. Elephants they eat also; and the trunk of this beast is an acceptable present for a nobleman, and that too, tho' the beast dies with age or sickness. For here are but few wild elephants, and those so shy, that they are not easily taken. But the king having a great number of tame elephants, when one of these die, it is given to the poor, who presently fetch away the flesh, but the trunk is cut in pieces and presented to the mandarins. Dogs and cats are killed purposely for the shambles, and their flesh is much esteemed, by people of the best fashion, as I have been credibly informed. Great yellow frogs also are much admired, especially when they come fresh out of the pond. They have many other such choice dishes; and in all the villages, at any time of the day, be it market day or not, there are several to be sold by poor people, who make it their trade. The most common sorts of cookeries, next to boil'd rice, is to dress little bits of pork, spitted five or six of them at once, on a small skewer, and roasted. In the markets also, and daily in every village, there are women sitting in the streets, with a pipkin over a small fire, full of chau, as they call it, a sort of very ordinary tea, of a reddish brown colour, and is their common drink.

The kingdom of Tonquin is in general healthy enough, especially in the dry season, when also it is very delightful. For the seasons of the year at Tonquin, and all the countries between the tropics, are distinguished into wet and dry, as properly as others are into winter and summer; but as the alteration from winter to summer, and *vice versa* is not made of a sudden, but with the interchange-
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able weather of spring and autumn; so also toward the end of the dry season, there are some gentle showers now and then, that precede the violent wet months; and again toward the end of these, several fair days that introduce the dry time. These seasons are generally much alike at the same time of the year in all places of the torrid zone, on the same side of the equator; but for two or three degrees on each side of it, the weather is more mix'd and uncertain, tho' inclining to the wet extreme, and is often contrary to that which is then settled on the same side of the equator more toward the tropic. So that even when the wet season is set in, in the northern part of the torrid zone, it may yet be dry weather for two or three degrees north of the line; and the same may be said of the contrary latitudes and seasons. This I speak with respect to the dryness or moisture of countries in the torrid zone; but it may also hold good of their heat or cold, generally; for as to all these qualities there is a further difference arises from the make or situation of the land, or other accidental causes, besides what depends on the respective latitude or regard to the sun. Thus the bay of Campeachy in the West Indies, and that of Bengal in the East, in much the same latitude, are exceeding hot and moist; and whether their situation, being low countries, and the scarcity and faintness of the sea breezes, as in most bays, may not contribute hereunto, I leave others to judge. Yet even as to the latitudes of these places, lying near the tropics, they are generally upon that account alone more inclined to great heats than places near the equator. This is what I have experienced in many places in such latitudes both in the East and West Indies, that the hottest parts of the world are those near the tropics, especially three or four degrees within them, sen-

fibly hotter than under the line itself. Many reasons may be assigned for this, besides the accidental ones from the make of the particular countries, tropical winds, or the like. For the longest day at the equator never exceeds twelve hours, and the night is always the same length; but near the tropics the longest day is about thirteen hours and an half; and an hour an half being also taken from the night, what with the length of the day, and the shortness of the night, there is a difference of three hours, which is very considerable. Besides which, at such places as are about three degrees within the tropics, or in the latitude of 20 degrees north, the sun comes within two or three degrees beyond it, before it returns and passeth the zenith once more; and by this means is at least three months within four degrees of the zenith; so that they have the sun in a manner over their heads from the beginning of May, till the latter end of July. Whereas when the sun comes under the line, in March or September, it immediately passes away to the north or south, and is not twenty days in passing from three degrees on one side, to three degrees on the other side the line. So that by his small stay there, the heat cannot be answerable to what it is near the tropic, where he continues so long in a manner vertical at noon, and is so much longer above the horizon each particular day, with the intervening of a shorter night.

But to return to Tonquin. During the wet months there 'tis excessive hot, especially whenever the sun breaks out of the clouds, and there is then but little wind stirring: and I have been told by a gentleman who liv'd there many year, that he thought it was the hottest place that ever he was in, tho' he had been in many other parts of India. And as to the rains, it has not the least share of them,

them, tho' neither altogether the greatest of what I have met with in the torrid zone; and even in the same latitude, and on the same side of the equator. The wet season begins here the latter end of April, or the beginning of May, and holds till the latter end of August; in which time are very violent rains, some of many hours, others of two or three days continuance. Yet are not these rains without some considerable intervals of fair weather, especially toward the beginning or end of the season.

By these rains are caused those land-floods, which never fail in these countries between the tropics at their annual periods; and the rivers then overflowing their banks. This is a thing so well known to all who are any way acquainted with the torrid zone, that the cause of the overflowing of the Nile, to find out which the antients set their wits so much upon the rack, and fancied melting of snows, blowing of Etesiaë, and I know not what, is now no longer a secret. For these floods must needs discharge themselves upon such low lands as lie in their way, as the land of Egypt does with respect to the Nile, coming a great way from within the torrid zone, and falling down from the higher Ethiopia. Any one who will be at the pains to compare the time of the land flood in Egypt, with that of the torrid zone in any of the parts of it along which the Nile runs, will find that of Egypt so much later than the other, as it will be thought reasonable to allow for the daily progress of the waters along so vast a tract of land. They might have made the same wonder of any other rivers which run any long course from out of the torrid zone; but knowing only the north temperate zone, and the Nile being the only great river known to come thither a great way from a country near the line, they made that only the subject of their enquiry: but the same

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effect must also follow from any great river that should run from out of the torrid zone into the south temperate zone. And as to the torrid zone, the yearly floods, and their cause, are every where as well known by people there, as the rivers themselves. In America particularly, in the Campeachy rivers, in Rio Grande, and others, vast havock is made by these floods, bringing down sometimes trees of an incredible bigness; and these floods always come at the stated season of the year. In the dry part of Peru, along the coasts of the Pacifick sea, where it never rains, as it seldom does in Egypt, they have not only floods, but rivers themselves, made by the annual falling of rain on the mountains within land; the channels of which are dry all the rest of the year. This I have observed concerning the river Ylo, on the coast of Peru, in my former volume, page 228. But it has this difference from the floods of Egypt, that besides its being a river in the torrid zone, 'tis also in south latitude, and so overflows at a contrary season of the year; to wit, at such time as the sun being in southern signs, causes the rains and floods on that side the line.

But to return from this digression, in August the weather at Tonquin is more moderate, as to heat or wet, yet not without some showers, and September and October are more temperate still; yet the worst weather in all the year for seamen, is in one of the three months last mentioned; for then the violent storms, called tuffoons (typhones) are expected. These winds are so very fierce, that for fear of them the Chinese that trade thither, will not stir out of harbour, till the end of October; after which month there is no more danger of any violent storms, till the next year.

Tuffoons

Tuffoons are a particular kind of violent storms, blowing on the coast of Tonquin, and the neighbouring coasts in the months of July, August, and September. They commonly happen near the full or change of the moon, and are usually preceded by very fair weather, small winds and a clear sky. Those small winds veer from the common trade of that time of the year, which is here at S. W. and shuffles about to the N. and N. E. Before the storm comes there appears a boding cloud in the N. E. which is very black near the horizon, but towards the upper edge, it looks of a dark copper colour, and higher still it is brighter, and afterwards it fades to a whitish glaring colour, at the very edge of the cloud. This cloud appears very amazing and ghastly, and is sometimes seen twelve hours before the storm comes. When that cloud begins to move apace, you may expect the wind presently. It comes on fierce, and blows very violent at N. E. twelve hours, more or less. It is also commonly accompanied with terrible claps of thunder, large and frequent flashes of lightning, and excessive hard rain. When the wind begins to abate it dies away suddenly, and falling flat calm, continues so an hour, more or less; then the wind comes about to the S. W. and it blows and rains as fierce from thence, as it did before at N. E. and as long.

November and December are two very dry, wholesome, warm and pleasant months. January and February, and March are pretty dry,; but then you have thick fogs in the morning, and sometimes drizzling cold rains: the air also in these three months, particularly in January and February is very sharp, especially when the wind is at north east, or north north east, whether because of the quarter it blows from, or the land it blows over I know not; for I have

have elsewhere observed such winds to be colder, where they have come from over land. April is counted a moderate month, either as to heat or cold, dryness or moisture.

This is ordinarily the state of their year ; yet are not these various seasons so exact in their returns, but that there may sometimes be the difference of a month, or more. Neither yet are the several seasons, when they do come, altogether alike in all years. For sometimes the rains are more violent and lasting, at other times more moderate ; and some years they are not sufficient to produce reasonable crops, or else they come so unseasonably as to injure and destroy the rice, or at least to advance it but a little. For the husbandry of this country, and other countries in the torrid zone depends on the annual floods, to moisten and fatten the land ; and if the wet season proves more dry than ordinary, so that the rice land is not well drenched with the overflowings of the rivers, the crops will be but mean ; and rice being their bread, the staff of life with them, if that fails, such a populous country as this cannot subsist, without being beholden to its neighbours. But when it comes to that pass, that they must be supplied by sea, many of the poorer sort sell their children to relieve their wants, and so preserve their lives, whilst others that have not children to sell, may be famished and die miserably in the streets. This manner of parents dealing with their children is not peculiar to this kingdom alone, but is customary in other places of the East Indies, especially on the coast of Malabar and Coromandel. There a famine happens more frequently, and rages sometimes to a degree beyond belief : for these countries are generally very dry, and less productive of rice than Tonquin ; neither are there such large rivers to fatten the land, but all their

their crop depends on seasons of rain only, to moisten the earth; and when those seasons fail, as they do very often, then they can have no crop at all. Sometimes they have little or no rain in three or four years, and then they perish at a lamentable rate. Such a famine as this happened two or three years before my going to Fort St. George, which raged so sore, that thousands of people perished for want, and happy were they that could hold out, till they got to the sea-port towns, where the Europeans lived, to sell themselves to them, tho' they were sure to be transported from their own country presently. But the famine does never rage so much at Tonquin, neither may their greatest scarcity be so truly called a famine; for in the worst of times there is rice, and 'tis thro' the poverty of the meaner people, that so many perish or sell their children, for they might else have rice enough, had they money to buy it with; and when their rice is thus dear, all other provisions are so proportionably.

There is a farther difference between the countries of Malabar and Coromandel, and this of Tonquin, that the more rain they have there, the greater is their blessing; but here they may have too much rain for the lower part of the kingdom; but that is rare. When this happens, they have banks to keep in the rivers, and ditches to drain the land; tho' sometimes to little purpose, when the floods are violent, and especially if out of season: for if the floods come in their seasons, tho' they are great and drown all the land, yet are they not hurtful; but on the contrary, very beneficial, because the mud that they leave behind fattens the land. And after all, if the low land should be injured by the floods, the dry champaign land yields the better increase, and helps out the other, as that does them also in more kindly seasons. In the dry seasons the

low lands have this advantage, that channels are easily cut out of the river, to water them on each side. So that let the seasons be wet or dry, this country seldom suffers much. Indeed, considering the number of its inhabitants, and the poverty of the major part, it is sometimes here, as in all populous countries, very hard with the poor, especially the trades people in the large towns. For the trade is very uncertain, and the people employed according to the number of ships that come thither, to fetch away their goods; and if but few ships come, as sometimes it happens, then the poor are ready to famish for want of work, whereby to get a subsistence. And not only this, but most silk countries are stock'd with great numbers of poor people, who work cheap and live meanly on a little rice; which, if not very cheap, as it commonly is here, the poor people are not able to maintain themselves.

CH A P. XXVIII.

Of the natives of Tonquin, their customs, religion, trade, &c.

TONQUIN is very populous, being thick set with villages; and the natives in general are of a middle stature, and clean limb'd. They are of a tawney Indian colour, but I think the fairest and clearest that I ever saw of that complexion; for you may perceive a blush or change of colour in some of their faces, on any sudden surprize of passion, which I could never discern in any other Indians. Their faces are generally flatish, and of an oval form. Their noses and lips are proportionable enough, and altogether graceful. Their hair is black, long and lank, and very thick, and they wear it hanging down to their shoulders.

Their

Their teeth are as black as they can make them; for this being accounted a great ornament, they dye them of that colour, and are three or four days doing it. They do this when they are about twelve or fourteen years old, both boys and girls; and during all the time of the operation they dare not take any nourishment, besides water, chau, or some liquid thing, and not much of that neither, for fear, I judge, of being poisoned by the dye, or pigment; so that while this is doing they undergo very severe penance; but as both sexes, so all qualities, the poor as well as the rich, must be in this fashion; they say they should else be like brutes; and that 'twould be a great shame to them to be like elephants or dogs, to which they compare those who have white teeth.

They are generally dexterous, nimble, and active, and ingenious in any mechanic science they profess. This may be seen by the multitude of fine silks that are made here, and the curious lacquer-work, that is yearly transported from thence. They are also laborious and diligent in their callings; but the country is so very populous, many of them are extreme poor for want of employment; and though the country is full of silk, and other materials to work on, yet little is done, but when strange ships arrive. For it is the money and goods that are brought hither, especially by the English and Dutch, that puts life into them; for the handicrafts men have not money to set themselves to work, and the foreign merchants are therefore forc'd to trust them with advance money, to the value of at least a third, or half their goods, and this for two or three months or more, before they have made them and brought them in. So that they having no goods ready by them, till they have money from the merchant strangers, the ships
that

that trade hither must of necessity stay here all the time that their goods are making, which are commonly five or six months.

The Tonquinese make very good servants, I think the best in India; for as they are generally apprehensive and docil, so are they faithful when hired, diligent and obedient. Yet they are low spirited, probably by reason of their living under an arbitrary government. They are patient in labour, but in sickness they are mightily dejected. They have one great fault extreme common among them, which is gaming: to this they are so universally addicted, servants and all, that neither the awe of their masters nor any thing else is able to restrain them, till they have lost all they have, even their very cloaths. This is a reigning vice among the eastern nations, especially the Chinese, as I said in my former volume. And I may add, that the Chinese I found settled at Tonquin, were no less given to it than those I met with elsewhere. For after they have lost their money, goods, and cloaths, they will stake down their wives and children: and lastly, as the dearest thing they have, will play upon tick, and mortgage their hair upon honour, and whatever it cost'em, they will be sure to redeem it; for a free Chinese, as these are, who have fled from the Tartars, would be as much ashamed of short hair, as a Tonquinese of white teeth.

The cloaths of the Tonquinese are made either of silk or cotton. The poor people and soldiers do chiefly wear cotton cloth dyed to a dark tawny colour. The rich men and mandarins commonly wear English broad cloth; the chief colours are red or green. When they appear before the king, they wear long gowns which reach down to their heels; neither may any man appear in his presence but in such a garb. The great men have also long caps

caps made of the same that their gowns are, but the middle sort of men and the poor commonly go bare headed; yet the fishermen, and such labourers as are by their employment more exposed to the weather, have broad brim'd hats, made of reeds, straw, or palmeto leaves. These hats are as stiff as boards, and sit not pliant to their heads, for which reason they have bandstrings or necklaces fastened to their hats, which coming under their chins are there tied, to keep them fast on their heads. These hats are very ordinary things, and are seldom worn but in rainy weather. Their other cloaths are very few and mean; a ragged pair of breeches commonly sufficeth them. Some have bad jackets, but neither shirt, stockings, nor shoes.

The Tonquinese buildings are but mean. Their houses are small and low; the walls are either mud or wattle bedaubed over, and the roofs are thatched, and that very ill, especially in the country. The houses are too low to admit of chambers; yet they have here two or three partitions on the ground floor, made with a watling of canes or sticks for their several uses; in each of which there is a window to let in the light. The windows are only small square holes in the walls, which they shut up at night with a board, fitted for that purpose. The rooms are but meanly furnished, with a poor bed or two (or more, according to the bigness of the family) in the inner room. The outer rooms are furnished with stools, benches or chairs to sit on. There is also a table, and on one side a little altar, with two incense pots on it: nor is any house without its altar. One of these incense pots has a small bundle of rushes in it; the ends of which I always took notice had been burnt, and the fire put out. This outer room is the place where they commonly dress their food; yet in fair weather they do it as frequently

frequently in the open air, at their doors, or in their yards, as being thereby the less incommoded by heat or smoak.

They dwell not in lone houses, but together in villages; 'tis rare to see a single house by itself. The country villages commonly consist of twenty, thirty, or forty houses, and are thick seated over all the country, yet hardly to be seen till you come to their very doors, by reason of the trees and groves they are surrounded with: and 'tis as rare to see a grove without a village, in the low country near the sea, as to see a village without a grove; but the high lands are full of woods, and the villages there stand all as in one great forest. The villages and land about them do most belong to great men, and the inhabitants are tenants that manure and cultivate the ground.

The villages in the low land are also surrounded with great banks and deep ditches. These encompass the whole grove, in which each village stands.

The banks are to keep the water from overflowing their gardens, and from coming into their houses in the wet time, when all the land about them is under water, two or three feet deep. The ditches or trenches are to preserve the water in the dry time, with which they water their gardens when need requires. Every man lets water at pleasure, by little drains that run inward from the town-ditch into his own garden; and usually each man's yard or garden is divided from his neighbours by one of these little drains on each side. The houses lie scattering up and down in the grove, no where joining to one another, but each apart, and fenced in with a small hedge. Every house hath a small gate or stile to enter into the garden first, for the house stands in the middle of it; and the garden runs also from the backside of the house to the town-ditch,

ditch, with its drain and hedge on each side. In the gardens every man has his own fruit trees, as oranges, limes, betel, pumpions, melons, pine-apples, and a great many herbs. In the dry season these grovy dwellings are very pleasant, but in the wet season they are altogether uncomfortable; for tho' fenced in thus with banks, yet are they like so many duck houses, all wet and dirty, neither can they pass from one village to another, but mid-leg or to their knees in water, unless sometimes in boats, which they keep for this purpose; but notwithstanding these, they are seldom out of mire and wet, even in the midst of the village or garden, so long as the season lasts. The inhabitants of the higher part of the kingdom are not troubled with such inconveniencies, but live more cleanly and comfortably, forasmuch as their land is never overflowed with water, and tho' they live also in villages or towns as the former, yet they have no occasion to surround them with banks or trenches, but lie open to the forest.

The capital city Cachao, which stands in the high country, about eighty miles from the sea, on the west side of the river, and on a pretty level, yet rising ground, lies open in the same manner, without wall, bank, or ditch. There may be in Cachao about twenty thousand houses. The houses are generally low, the walls of the houses are of mud, and the covering thatch, yet some are built with brick, and the covering with pantile. Most of these houses have a yard or backside belonging to them. In each yard you shall see a small arched building made somewhat like an oven, about six feet high, with the mouth on the ground. It is built from top to bottom with brick, all over daubed thick with mud and dirt. If any house wants a yard, they have nevertheless such a kind of oven as
this,

this, but smaller, set up in the middle of the house itself; and there is scarce a house in the city without one. The use of it is to thrust their chiefest goods into, when a fire happens: for these low thatched houses are very subject to take fire, especially in the dry times, to the destruction of many houses in an instant, that often they have scarce time to secure their goods in the arched ovens, tho' so near them.

As every private person hath this contrivance, to secure his own goods, when a fire happens, so the government hath carefully ordered necessary means to be used for the preventing of fire, or extinguishing it before it gets too great a head. For in the beginning of the dry season, every man must keep a great jar of water on the top of his house, to be ready to pour down, as occasion shall serve. Besides this, he is to keep a long pole, with a basket or bowl at the end of it, to throw water out of the cannels upon the houses. But if the fire gets to such a head, that both these expedients fail, then they cut the straps that holds the thatch of the houses, and let it drop from the rafters to the ground. This is done with little trouble; for the thatch is not laid on as ours, neither is it tied on by single leaves, as in the West Indies, and many parts of the East Indies, where they thatch with palmeto or palm tree leaves; but this is made up in panes of seven or eight feet square, before it is laid on; so that four or six panes more or less, according to the bigness of the house, will cover one side of it: and these panes being only fastened in a few places to the rafters with rattans, they are easily cut, and down drops half the covering at once. These panes are also better than loose thatch, as being more managable, in case any of them should fall on or near the oven where the goods are; for they

they are easily dragged off to another place. The neighbouring houses may this way be soon uncovered, before the flame comes to them; and the thatch either carried away, or at least laid where it may burn by itself. And for this purpose every man is ordered to keep a long pole or bambo at his door, with a cutting-hook at the end of it, purposely for uncovering the houses; and if any man is found without his jar upon the house, and his bucket-pole and long hook at his door, he will be punished severely for his neglect. They are rigorous in exacting this; for even with all this caution they are much and often damaged by fire.

The principal streets in this city are very wide, though some are but narrow. They are most of them paved, or pitched rather, with small stones; but after a very ill manner. In the wet season they are very dirty; and in the dry time there are many stagnant ponds, and some ditches full of black stinking mud, in and about the city. This makes it unpleasant, and a man would think unwholesome too: yet it is healthy enough, as far as I perceived, or could ever learn.

The kings of Tonquin, who make this city their constant residence, have two or three palaces in it, such as they be. Two of them are very mean, they are built with timber, yet have they many great guns planted in houses near them, stables for the kings elephants and horses, and pretty large square spots of ground for the soldiers to draw themselves up regularly before him. The third palace is called the palace royal. It is more magnificently built than the other two; yet built also with timber, but all open, as the divans in Turkey are said to be. The wall that incompasseth it is most remarkable. It is said to be three leagues in circumference. The height of this wall is about fifteen or sixteen feet,
and

and almost as many broad or thick. It is faced up on both sides with brick: there are several small gates to go in and out at, but the main gate faceth to the city. This they say is never opened, but when the boua or emperor goes in or comes out. There are two smaller gates adjoining to it, one on each side, which are opened on all occasions, for any concerned there to pass in and out, but strangers are not permitted this liberty. Yet they may ascend to the top of the wall and walk round it; there being stairs at the gate to go up by; and in some places the walls are fallen down.

Within this wall there are large fish-ponds, where also there are pleasure-boats for the emperors diversion. I shall defer speaking of him, whose prison this is rather than court, till the next chapter, where I shall discourse of the government.

The house of the English factory, who are very few, is pleasantly seated on the north end of the city, fronting to the river. 'Tis a pretty handiome low built house; the best that I saw in the city. There is a handsome dining-room in the middle, and at each end convenient apartments for the merchants, factors, and servants belonging to the company to live in, with other conveniences. This house stands parallel with the river; and at each end of it, there are smaller houses for other uses, as kitchen, store-houses, &c. running in a line from the great house towards the river, making two wings, and a square court open to the river. In this square space, near the banks of the river, there stands a flag-staff, purposely for the hoisting up the English colours, on all occasions; for it is the custom of our countrymen abroad, to let fly their colours on Sundays, and all other remarkable days.

The Dutch factory joins to the English factory on the south side, I was never in it, and therefore
can

can say nothing of it, but I have heard that their ground is not so large as ours, though they are the longest standers here by many years; for the English are but newly removed hither from Hean, where they resided altogether before.

There is nothing more in or about the city worth notice, but only a piece of work on the same side, up the river. This is a massy frame of timber, ingeniously put together, and very artificially plac'd on great piles, that are set upright in the river, just by its banks. The piles are driven firmly into the ground, close one by another; and all the space between them and the bank is filled up with stones, and on them great trees laid across, and pinn'd fast at each end to the piles, so that the whole fabrick must be moved before any part of it will yield. This piece of work is raised about sixteen or seventeen feet above the water in the dry time, but in the wet season the floods come within two or three feet of the top. It was made to resist the violence of the water in the rainy season; for the stream then presses so hard against this place, that before this pile was built, it broke down the bank, and threatned to carry all before it, even to the ruining of the city, if this course had not timely been taken to prevent it. And so much the rather, because there is a large pond just within land, and low ground between it and the city: so that had it made but a small breach into the pond, it would have come even to the skirts of the city. And though the city stands so high as that the land floods never reach it, yet the land on which it stands being a sort of yielding sand, could not be thought capable of always resisting such violence. For the natural floods very often make great changes in the river, breaking down one point of land, and making another point in the opposite side of the river, and that chiefly in this

part of the country, where it is bounded with high banks; for nearer the sea, where it presently overflows, the floods seldom make any considerable change, and move more quietly.

But to return to the people. They are courteous and civil to strangers, especially the trading people: but the great men are proud, haughty, and ambitious; and the soldiers very insolent. The poorer sort are very thievish, insomuch that the factors and strangers that traffick hither are forced to keep good watch in the night to secure their goods, notwithstanding the severe punishments they have against thieves. They have indeed great opportunities of thieving, the houses being so slightly built: but they will work away under ground, rather than fail; and use many subtle stratagems. I am a stranger to any ceremonies used by them in marriage, or at the birth of a child, or the like, if they use any: Polygamy is allowed of in this country, and they buy their wives of the parents. The king and great men keep several, as their inclinations lead them, and their ability serves. The poor are stinted for want of means more than desire; for though many are not able to buy, much less to maintain one wife, yet most of them make a shift to get one, for here are some very low prized ones, that are glad to take up with poor husbands. But then in hard times, the man must sell both wife and children, to buy rice to maintain himself. Yet this is not so common here as in some places; as I before observed of the Malabar and Coromandel coasts. This custom among them of buying wives, easily degenerates into that of other hiring misses, and gives great liberty to the young women, who offer themselves of their own accord to any strangers, who will go to their price. There are of all prices, from one hundred dollars to five dollars, and the refuse

refuse of all will be careſſed by the poor ſeamen. Such as the Laſcars, who are Moors of India, coming hither, in veſſels from Fort St. George, and other places; who yet have nothing to give them, but ſuch fragments of food, as their commons will afford. Even the great men of Tonquin will offer their daughters to the merchants and officers, tho' their ſtay is not likely to be above five or ſix months in the country: neither are they afraid to be with child by white men, for the children will be much fairer than their mothers, and conſequently of greater repute, when they grow up, if they be girls. Nor is it any great charge to breed them here: and at the worſt if their mothers are not able to maintain them, it is but ſelling them when they are young. But to return, the women who thus lett themſelves to hire, if they have been ſo frugal as to ſave what they have got by theſe looſe amours, they ſoon procure huſbands, that will love and eſteem them well enough; and themſelves alſo will prove afterwards obedient and faithful wives. For it is ſaid, that even while they are with ſtrangers, they are very faithful to them; eſpecially to ſuch as remain long in the country, or make annual returns hither, as the Dutch generally do. Many of theſe have gotten good eſtates by their Tonquin ladies; and that chiefly by truſting them with money and goods. For in this poor country it is a great advantage to watch the market; and theſe female merchants having ſtocks will mightily improve them, taking their opportunities of buying raw ſilk in the dead time of the year. With this they will employ the poor people, when work is ſcarce; and get it cheaper and better done, than when ſhips are here; for then every man being employed and in a hurry of buſineſs, he will have his price according to the haſte of work. And by this means they

will get their goods ready against the ships arrive, and before the ordinary working season, to the profit both of the merchant and the pagally.

When a man dies he is interred in his own land, for here are no common burying-places; and within a month afterwards the friends of the deceased, especially if he was the master of the family, must make a great feast of flesh and fruit at the grave. 'Tis a part of the priests office to assist at this solemnity, they are always there, and take care to see that the friends of the deceased have it duly performed. To make this feast they are obliged to sell a piece of land, though they have money enough otherways: which money they bestow in such things as are necessary for the solemnity, which is more or less, according to the quality of the deceased. If he was a great man, there is a tower of wood erected over the grave; it may be seven or eight feet square, and built twenty or twenty five feet high. About twenty yards from the tower, are little sheds built with stalls, to lay the provisions on, both of meat and fruits of all sorts, and that in great plenty. Thither the country people resort to fill their bellies, for the feast seems to be free for all comers, at least of the neighbourhood. How it is dressed or distributed about I know not; but there the people wait till it is ready. Then the priest gets within the tower, and climbs up to the top, and looking out from thence, makes an oration to the people below. After this the priest descends, and then they set fire to the foundation of the tower, burn it down to the ground; and when this is done they fall to their meat. I saw one of these grave-feasts, which I shall have elsewhere occasion to mention.

The Tonquinese have two annual feasts. The chief is at the first new moon of the new year, which begins

begins with the first new moon that falls out after the middle of January, for else that moon is reckoned to the old year. At this time they make merry and rejoice ten or twelve days, and then there is no business done, but every man makes himself as fine as may be, especially the common sort. These spend their time in gaming or sporting, and you shall see the streets full of people, both citizens and country folks, gazing at several diverting exercises. Some set up swings in the streets, and get money of those that will swing in them. The frames are contrived like ours in the fields about London in holiday times; but they who swing stand upright on the lower part of the swing, which is only a stick fastened to a pendulous rope, which they hold fast with their hands on each side, and raise themselves to such a prodigious height, that if the swing should break, they must needs break their limbs at best, if not kill themselves outright. Others spend their time in drinking. Their ordinary drink is tea; but they make themselves merry with hot rack, which sometimes also they mix with their tea. Either way it hath an odd nasty taste, but is very strong; and is therefore much esteemed by them; especially at this time, when they so much devote themselves to mirth, or madness, or even bestial drunkenness. The richer sort are more reserved: yet they will also be very merry at this time. The nobles treat their friends with good cheer and the best rack; but indeed there is none good in this country. Yet such as they have they esteem as a great cordial, especially when snakes and scorpions have been infused therein, as I have been informed. This is not only accounted a great cordial, but an antidote against the leprosy, and all sorts of poison, and it is accounted a great piece of respect to any one to treat him

with this liquor. I had this relation from one that had been treated thus by many of the great men. They also at this time more especially chew abundance of betle, and make presents thereof to one another.

The betle leaf is the great entertainment in the east for all visitants; and always given with arek folded up in it. They make up the arek in pellets fit for use, by first peeling off the outer green hard rind of the nuts, and then splitting it lengthways in three or four parts, more or less, according to its bigness. Then they dawb the leaf all over with chinam or lime made into a mortar or paste, and kept in a box for this purpose, spreading it thin.

And here by the way I shall take notice of a slip in my former volume, p. 449, which I desire may be corrected: the nut being there by mistake called the betle, and the arek-tree called the betle-tree, whereas betle is the name of the leaf they chew. In this leaf, thus spread with chinam, they roll up a slice of arek-nut, very neatly, and make a pellet of about an inch long, and as big as the top of one's finger. Every man here has a box that will hold a great many of these pellets, in which they keep a store ready made up; for all persons, of what quality soever, from the prince to the beggar, chew abundance of it. The poorer sort carry a small pouchful about with them: but the mandarins, or great men, have curious oval boxes, made purposely for this use, that will hold fifty or sixty betle pellets. These boxes are neatly lackered and gilded, both inside and outside, with a cover to take off; and if any stranger visits them, especially Europeans, they are sure, among other good entertainment, to be treated with a box of betle. The attendant that brings it holds it to the left hand of the stranger; who therewith taking off the cover, takes with his
right

right hand the nuts out of the box. 'Twere an affront to take them, or give or receive any thing with the left hand, which is confined all over India to the viler uses.

It is accounted good breeding to commend the taste or neatness of this present, and they all love to be flattered. You thereby extremely please the master of the house, and engage him to be your friend; and afterwards you may be sure he will not fail to send his servant with a present of betle once in two or three mornings, with a complement to know how you do. This will cost you a small gratuity to the servant, who joyfully acquaints his master how gratefully you received the present; and this still engages him more, and he will complement you with great respect whenever he meets you. I was invited to one of these new-years feasts by one of the country, and accordingly went ashore, as many other seamen did upon the like invitations. I know not what entertainment they had; but mine was like to be but mean, and therefore I presently left it. The staple dish was rice, which I have said before is the common food: Besides which, my friend, that he might the better entertain me and his other guests, had been in the morning a fishing in a pond not far from his house, and had caught a huge mess of frogs, and with great joy brought them home. As soon as I came to his house, I wondered to see him turn out so many of these creatures into a basket; and asking him what they were for? he told me to eat, but how he dressed them I know not; I did not like his dainties so well as to stay and dine with him.

The other great feast they have, is after their May crop is housed, about the beginning of June. At this feast also they have public rejoicings; but much inferior to those of their new-year's feast.

Their religion is paganism, and they are great idolaters ; nevertheless they own an omnipotent, supreme, over-ruling power, that beholds both them and their actions, and so far takes notice of them as to reward the good and punish the bad in the other world : for they believe the immortality of the soul ; but the notion they have of the deity is very obscure. Yet by the figures which they make, representing this god, they manifestly shew that they do believe him to excel in fight, strength, courage, wisdom, justice, &c. For tho' their idols, which are made in human shapes are very different in their forms, yet they all represent somewhat extraordinary either in the countenance, or in the make of the body or limbs. Some are very corpulent and fat, others are very lean ; some also have many eyes, others as many hands, and all grasping somewhat. Their aspects are also different, and in some measure representing what they are made to imitate, or there is somewhat in their hands or lying by them, to illustrate the meaning of the figure. Several passions are also represented in the countenance of the image, as love, hatred, joy, grief. I was told of one image, that was placed sitting on his hams, with his elbows resting on his knees, and his chin resting on his two thumbs, for the support of his head, which look'd drooping forwards ; his eyes were mournfully lifted up towards heaven, and the figure was so lean, and the countenance and whole composure was so sorrowful, that it was enough to move the beholder with pity and compassion. My friend said he was much affected with the sight thereof.

There are other images also, that are in the shape of beasts, either elephants or horses, for I have not seen them in any other shape. The pagodas or idol temples, are not sumptuous and magnificent, as in some of the neighbouring kingdoms. They

They are generally built with timber, and are but small and low, yet mostly covered with pantile, especially the city pagodas. But in the country some of them are thatched. I saw the horse and elephants idols only in the country; and indeed I saw none of the idols in the city Cachao, but was told they were generally in human shapes.

The horse and elephant images I saw, were both forts about the bigness and height of a good horse, each standing in the midst of a temple, just big enough to contain them, with their heads towards the door; and sometimes one, sometimes two together in a temple, which was always open. There were up and down in the country other buildings, such as pagodas, or temples, tombs, or the like, less than these, and not above the height of a man, but these were always shut so close, that I could not see what was within them.

There are many pagan priests belonging to these pagodas, and 'tis reported that they are by the laws tied up to strict rules of living; as abstinence from women, and strong drink especially, and enjoin'd a poor sort of life. Yet they don't seem to confine themselves much to these rules; but their subsistence being chiefly from offerings, and there being many of them, they are usually very poor. The offering to the priest is commonly two or three handfuls of rice, a box of betel, or some such like present. One thing the people resort to them for is fortune-telling, at which they pretend to be very expert, and will be much offended if any dispute their skill in that, or the truth of their religion. Their habitations are very little and mean, close by the pagodas, where they constantly attend to offer the petitions of the poor people, that frequently resort thither on some such errand; for they have no set times of devotion, neither do they seem to esteem

esteem one day above another, except their annual feasts. The people bring to the priest in writing what petition they have to make, and he reads it aloud before the idol, and afterwards burns it in an incense-pot, the suppliant all the while lying prostrate on the ground.

I think the mandarins and rich people seldom come to the pagodas, but have a clerk of their own, who reads the petition in their own courts or yards; and it should seem by this, that the mandarins have a better sense of the deity than the common people, for in these yards, there is no idol before whom to perform the ceremony, but 'tis done with eyes lifted up to heaven. When they make this petition they order a great deal of good meat to be dress'd, and calling all their servants into the court, where the ceremony is to be performed, they place the food on a table, where also two incense-pots are placed, and then the mandarin presents a paper to the clerk, who reads it with an audible voice. In the first place there is drawn up an ample account of all that god hath blest him withal, as health, riches, honour, favour of his prince, &c. and long life, if he be old; and towards the conclusion, there is a petition to god for a continuance of all these blessings, and a farther augmentation of them, especially with long life and favour of his prince, which last they esteem as the greatest of all blessings. While this paper is reading the master kneels down, and bows his face down to the earth; and when the clerk has done reading it, he puts it to the burning rushes, that are in the incense-pot, where it is consumed. Then he flings in three or four little bundles of sacred paper, which is very fine and gilded; and when that also is burnt, he bids his servants eat the meat. This relation I had from an English gentleman, who understood

derstood the language very well, and was present at such a ceremony. This burning of paper seems a great custom among the eastern idolaters, for I observed the doing so by the Chinese, in a sacrifice they had at Bencouli.

The Tonquinese language is spoken very much through the throat, but many words of it are pronounced thro' the teeth. It has a great affinity to the Chinese language, especially the Fokien dialect, as I have been informed; and tho' their words are differently pronounc'd, yet they can understand each others writings, the characters and words being so near the same. The court language especially is very near the Chinese; for the courtiers being all scholars, they speak more polite, and it differs very much from the vulgar corrupted language. But for the Malayan tongue, which monsieur Tavernier's brother in his history of Tonquin says is the court language, I could never hear by any person that it is spoken there, tho' I have made particular enquiry about it; neither can I be of his opinion in that matter. For the Tonquinese have no manner of trade with any Malaysians that I could observe or learn, neither have any of their neighbours; and for what other grounds the Tonquinese should receive that language I know not. It is not probable that either conquest, trade or religion could bring it in; nor do they travel towards Malacca, but towards China, and commonly 'tis from one of these causes that men learn the language of another nation. The remarkable smoothness of that language, I confess, might excite some people to learn it out of curiosity, but the Tonquinese are not so curious,

They have schools of learning, and nurseries to tutor youth. The characters they write in are the same with the chinese, by what I could judge; and
they

they write with a hair pencil, not sitting at a table as we do, but standing upright. They hold their paper in one hand, and write with the other, making their characters very exact and fair. They write their lines right down from the top to the bottom, beginning the first line from the right hand, and so proceeding on towards the left. After they can write, they are instructed in such sciences as their masters can tutor them in; and the mathematics are much studied by them. They seem to understand a little of geometry and arithmetic, and somewhat more of astronomy. They have almanacks among them, but I could not learn whether they are made in Tonquin, or brought to them from China.

Since the jesuits came into these parts, some of them have improved themselves in astronomy pretty much. They know from them the revolutions of the planets; they also learn of them natural philosophy, and especially ethicks; and when young students are admitted or made graduates, they pass thro' a very strict examination. They compose something by way of trial, which they must be careful to have wholly their own, for if it is found out that they have been assisted, they are punished, degraded, and never admitted to a second examination.

The Tonquineſe have learn'd ſeveral mechanic arts and trades, ſo that here are many tradesmen, viz. ſmiths, carpenters, ſawyers, joiners, turners, weavers, taylors, potters, painters, money changers, paper-makers, workers on lacquer ware, bell-founders, &c. Their ſaws are moſt in frames, and drawn forwards and backwards by two men. Money changing is a great profeſſion here: it is managed by women, who are very dextrous and ripe in this employment. They hold their cabals in the
night

night, and know how to raise their cash as well as the cunningest stock-jobber in London.

The Tonquinese make indifferent good paper, of two sorts; one sort is made of silk, the other of the rinds of trees; this being pounded well with wooden pestles in large troughs, makes the best writing paper.

The vendible commodities of this kingdom are gold, musk, silks, both wrought and raw, some callicoës, drugs of many sorts, wood for dying, lacquer wares, earthen-wares, salt, anniseed, worm-feed, &c. There is much gold in this country; it is like the China gold, as pure as that of Japan, and much finer. Eleven or twelve tale of silver brings one of gold. A tale is the name of a sum of about a noble English. Besides the raw silk fetched from hence, here are several sorts of wrought silks made for exportation, viz. pelongs, sues, hawkins, piniasco's, and gaws. The pelongs and gaws, are of each sort, either plain or flower'd very neatly. They make several other sorts of silk, but these are the principal that are bought by the English and Dutch.

The lacquer ware that is made here, is not inferior to any but that of Japan only, which is esteemed the best in the world; probably because the Japan wood is much better than this at Tonquin, for there seems not any considerable difference in the paint or varnish. The lack of Tonquin is a sort of gummy juice, which drains out of the bodies or limbs of trees. It is got in such quantities by the country people, that they daily bring it in great tubs to the markets at Cachao to sell, especially all the working season. The natural colour is white, and in substance thick like cream, but the air will change its colour, and make it look blackish; and therefore the country people that bring it to town,

cover

cover it over with two or three sheets of paper, or leaves, to preserve it in its fresh native colour. The cabinets, desks, or any sort of frames to be lacquered, are made of fir, or pone-tree; but the joiners in this country may not compare their work with that which the Europeans make: and in laying on the lack upon good or fine joined work, they frequently spoil the joints, edges, or corners of drawers of cabinets; besides, our fashions of utensils differ mightily from theirs, and for that reason captain Poole, in his second voyage to the country, brought an ingenious joiner with him, to make fashionable commodities to be lacquered here, as also deal boards, which are much better than the pone wood of this country.

The work-houses where the lacquer is laid on, are accounted very unwholesome, by reason of a poisonous quality, said to be in the lack, which fumes into the brain, thro' the nostrils, of those that work at it, making them break out in botches and biles, yet the scent is not strong, nor the smell unsavory. The labourers at this trade can work only in the dry season, or when the drying north winds blow; for as they lay several coats of lack, one on another, so these must all have time to be thoroughly dry, before an outer coat can be laid on the former. It grows blackish of itself, when exposed to the air, but the colour is heightned by oil, and other ingredients mix'd with it. When the outside coat is dry, they polish it to bring it to a gloss. This is done chiefly by often rubbing it with the ball or palm of their hands. They can make the lack of any colour, and temper it so as to make therewith good glew, said to be the best in the world. It is also very cheap, and prohibited exportation. They make varnish also with the lack.

Here

Here is also turpentine in good plenty, and very cheap. Our captain bought a considerable quantity for the ship's use; and of this the carpenter made good pitch, and used it for covering the seams after they were caulk'd.

The earthen ware of this country is coarse and of a grey colour, yet they make great quantities of small earthen dishes, that will hold half a pint or more. They are broader towards the brim than at the bottom, so that they may be stowed within one another. They have been sold by Europeans, in many of the Malayan countries, and for that reason captain Pool in his first voyage, bought the best part of 100,000, in hopes to sell them in his return homeward at Batavia; but not finding a market for them there, he carried them to Bencouli on the island Sumatra, where he sold them at a great profit to governor Bloom; and he also sold most of them at a good advantage to the native Malays there; yet some thousands were still at the fort when I came thither, the country being glutted with them. Captain Weldon also bought 30 or 40,000, and carried them to Fort St. George, but how he disposed of them I know not. The China wares which are much finer, have of late spoiled the sale of this commodity in most places; yet at Rackan, in the Bay of Bengal, they are still esteemed, and sell at a good rate.

The several sorts of drugs bought and sold here, are beyond my knowledge: but here is China root, galingame, rhubarb, ginger, &c. Neither do I know whether any of these grow in this country, for they are mostly imported from their neighbours, though as to the ginger, I think it grows there. Here is also a sort of fruit or berry said to grow on small bushes, called by the Dutch Annise, because its scent and taste is strong like that of the anniseed

feed. This commodity is only exported hence by the Dutch, who carry it to Batavia, and there distil it among their arack, to give it anniseed an flavour. This sort of arack is not fit to make punch with, neither is it used that way, but for want of plain arack. It is only used to take a dram of by itself, by the Dutch chiefly, who instead of brandy, will swallow large doses of it, though it be strong: but it is also much used and esteemed all over the East Indies.

There is one sort of dying wood in this country much like the Campeachy log-wood, though whether the same, or wood of greater value, I know not. I have heard that it is called sappan wood; and that it comes from Siam. It was smaller than what we usually cut in the bay of Campeachy; for the biggest stick that I saw here was no bigger than my leg, and most of it much smaller, and crooked. They have other sorts of dyes, but I can give no account of them. They dye several colours here, but I have been told they are not lasting. They have many sorts of good tall timber-trees in this country, fit for any sorts of building; but, by relation, none very durable. For masting the fir and pone trees are the best. Here is much wormseed, but it grows not in this kingdom. It is brought from within the land, from the kingdom of Boutan, or from the province of Yunam, bordering on this kingdom, yet belonging to China. From thence comes the musk and rhubarb; and these three commodities are said to be peculiar to Boutan and Yunam. The musk grows in the cuds of goats. The same countries yield gold also, and supply this country with it; for whatever gold mines the Tonquinese are said to have in their own mountains, yet they do not work upon them.

With

With all these rich commodities, one would expect the people to be rich; but the generality are very poor, considering what a trade is driven here. For they have little or no trade by sea themselves, except for eatables, as rice, and fish, which is spent in the country: but the main trade of the country is maintained by the Chinese, English, Dutch, and other merchant strangers, who either reside here constantly, or make their annual returns hither. These export their commodities, and import such as are vendible here. The goods imported hither besides silver, are saltpetre, sulphur, English broad-cloth, cloth-rafhes, some callicoes, pepper, and other spices, lead, great guns, &c. but of guns the long faker is most esteemed. For these commodities you receive money or goods, according to contract: but the country is so very poor, that, as I formerly observed, the merchant commonly stays three or four months for his goods, after he has paid for them; because the poor are not employed till ships arrive in the country, and then they are set to work by the money that is brought thither in them. The king buys great guns, and some pieces of broad cloth: but his pay is so bad, that merchants care not to deal with him, could they avoid it. But the trading people, by all accounts, are so honest and just, that I heard a man say, who had traded there ten years, in which time he dealt for many thousands of pounds, that he did not in all that time lose ten pounds by them all.

CHAP. XXIX.

Of the government, kings, soldiers, and Manderins of Tonquin.

THIS kingdom is an absolute monarchy, but of such a kind as is not in the world besides, for it has two kings, and each supreme in his particular way; the one is called Boua, the other Choua; which last name I have been told signifies master. The Boua and his ancestors were the sole monarchs of Tonquin, tho' I know not whether as independent sovereigns, or as tributaries to China, of which they have been thought to have been a frontier province, if not a colony; for there is a great affinity in their language, religion, and customs. The two kings they have at present, are not any way related in their descent or families; nor could I learn how long their government has continued in the present form, but it appears to have been for some successions. The occasion is variously reported; but some give this account of it.

The Bouas, or ancient kings of Tonquin, were formerly masters of Cochinchina, and held that nation in subjection by an army of Tonquinese constantly kept there, under a general or deputy, who ruled them. When Cochinchina threw off the Tonquinese yoke, the king had two great generals, one in Cochinchina and the other in Tonquin. These two generals differing, he who was in Cochinchina revolted from his sovereign of Tonquin, and by his power over the army there, made himself king of Cochinchina; since which these two nations have always been at wars, yet each nation of late is rather on the defensive part than on the offensive.

But

But when the general who commanded in Cochinchina had been thus successful in his revolt from under the Boua, the Tonquinese general took the courage to do so too; and having gained the affections of his army, deprived the king his master, of all the regal power, and kept it with all the revenues of the crown in his own hands, still leaving the other the title of king, probably, because of the great zeal the people had for that family. And thus the kingdom came wholly into the power of this Tonquinese general, and his heirs, who carry the title of Choua; the Bonas of the antient family having only the shadow of that authority they were formerly masters of. The Boua lives the life of a kind of prisoner of state, within the old palace, with his women and children, and diverts himself in boats among his fish ponds within the palace walls, but never stirs without those bounds. He is held in great veneration by all the Tonquinese, and seemingly by the Choua also, who never offers any violence to him, but treats him with all imaginable respect. The people say they have no king but Boua, and seem to have sad apprehensions of the loss they should have, if he should die without an heir; and whenever the Choua comes into his presence, which is two or three times in the year, he uses abundance of compliments to him, and tells him that his very life is at his service, and that he governs and rules wholly to do him a kindness; and always gives him the upper hand. So also when any ambassadors are sent from the emperor of China, they will deliver their message to none but the Boua, and have their audience of him. Yet after all this pageanty, the Boua has only a few servants to attend him; none of the mandarins make their court to him, nor is he allow'd any guards. All the magistracy and soldiery; the treasure and

the ordering of all matters of peace and war, are entirely at the Choua's disposal: all preferment is from him, and the very servants who attend the Boua, are such only as the Choua places about him. Besides these servants, none are ever suffered to see the Boua much less strangers, so that I could learn nothing as to his person. But as to the Choua, I have been informed that he is an angry, ill-natured, leprous person. He lives in the second palace, where he has ten or twelve wives, but what children I know not. He governs with absolute authority over the subjects, and with great tyranny, for their lives, goods, and estates are at his command. The province of Tenehoa is said to have belonged properly to his ancestors, who were great mandarins before the usurpation. So that he now seems to have a particular value for it, and keeps his treasure there, which, by report, is very great. This treasure is buried in great cisterns full of water, made purposely for that use; and to secure it, he keeps a great many soldiers there, and commits the charge, both of them and the treasure to the governor of the province, who is one of his principal eunuchs.

The Choua has always a strong guard of soldiers about his palace, and many large stables for his horses and elephants. The horses are about thirteen or fourteen hands high, and are kept very fat: there are two or three hundred of them. The elephants are kept in long stables by themselves, each having a peculiar room or partition, with a keeper to dress and feed him. The number of the king's elephants are about one hundred and fifty or two hundred. They are watered and washed every day in the river.

Some of the elephants are very gentle and governable, others are more indocil and unruly. When

When these rude ones are to pass through the streets, tho' only to be watered, the rider or dresser orders a gong or drum to be beaten before him, to warn people that an unruly elephant is coming, and they presently clear the streets and give a passage for the beast, who will do mischief to any that are in the way, and their riders or keepers cannot restrain him.

Before the Choua's palace, there is a large parade or square place for the soldiers to be drawn up. On one side there is a place for the mandarins to sit, and see the soldiers exercise, on the other side is a shed, wherein all the cannon and heavy guns are lodged. There may be fifty or sixty iron guns from falcon to demi-culverin, two or three whole culverin or demi-cannon, and some old iron mortars lying on logs. The guns are mounted on their carriages, which are old and very ill made. There is one great brass gun much larger than the rest, supposed to be eight or nine thousand pound weight. It is of a taper bore, a foot diameter at the mouth, but much smaller at the breech. It is an ill shaped thing, yet much esteemed by them, probably because it was cast here, and the biggest that ever they made: it was cast about twelve or thirteen years ago, and being so heavy, they could not contrive to mount it, but were beholden to the English, to put it into the carriage, where it now stands more for show than service. But tho' this is an ordinary piece of workmanship, yet the Tonquinese understand how to run metals, and are very expert in tempering the earth, wherewith they make their mould.

These are all the great guns that I saw or heard of in this kingdom, neither are here any forts, yet the king keeps always a great many soldiers. 'Tis said that he has always seventy or eighty thousand

constantly in pay. These are most foot, they are arm'd with curtans or swords, and hand guns of three feet and an half or four feet in the barrel. The bore is about the bigness of our horse pistols, they are all match-locks, and very thick and heavy. The soldiers all make their own powder. They have little engines for mixing the ingredients, and make as small a quantity as they please. They know not how to corn it, and therefore it is in unequal lumps, some as big as the top of a man's thumb, and others not larger than a white pea: neither have I seen any powder well corn'd, that has been made in any of these eastern nations.

The soldiers have each a cartridge box, covered with leather, after the manner of the West Indian privaters; but instead of paper cartridges, these are filled with small hollow canes, each containing a load or charge of powder; which they empty out of the cane into the gun, so that each box has in it, as it were, so many bandeleers. Their arms are kept very bright and clean; for which purpose every one of them has a hollow bambo to lay over the barrel of his gun, to keep the dust from it, as it lies over the rack in his house. When they march also in rainy weather, they have another bambo, to cover their guns. This is large enough to cover the whole barrel, and very well lackered; so that it is not only handsome, but also preserves the gun dry.

The soldiers when they march are led by an officer, who is leader of the file; and every file consists of ten men; but as I have been informed by one who has seen them march, they do not keep their ranks in marching. The soldiers are most of them lusty strong well made men; for 'tis that chiefly recommends them to the king's service. They must also have good stomachs, for that is a
greater

greater recommendation than the former; neither can any man be entertained as a soldier, that has not a greater stroke than ordinary at eating: for by this they judge of his strength and constitution. For which reason, when a soldier comes to be lifted, his stomach is first proved with rice, the common subsistence of the ordinary people in this kingdom; and according as he acquits himself in this first trial of his manhood, so he is either discharged or entertained in the service. It is reported, that at these trials they commonly eat eight or nine cups of rice, each containing a pint, and they are ever afterwards esteemed and advanced, according to the first days service; and the greatest eaters are chiefly employed as guards to the king, and commonly attend on his person. The province of Negean breeds the lustiest men, and the best eaters; for that reason those of that province are generally employed as soldiers. After thirty years service a soldier may petition to be disbanded; and then the village where he was born must send another man to serve in his room.

The horsemen are but few, and armed with bows, and long spears or lances, like the Moors and Turks. Both these and the foot soldiers are very dexterous in using their weapons, and shoot very well either with gun or bow; for they are often exercised by shooting at marks. The king orders a shooting match once a year, and rewards the best marksman with a fine coat, or one thousand cash, as it is called, which is a sum about the value of a dollar. The mark is a white earthen cup, placed against a bank. The distance they stand to fire at it is about eighty yards. He who breaks the first cup has the finest coat; for there are others also of less worth and finery for the rest, that have the good fortune to break the other cups, or cash in

lieu of them. This is all at the king's charge, who encourages this exercise very much, as a means to make them good marksmen, and they generally prove such. They will load and fire the quickest of any people. They draw the rammer at one motion, and powering down the powder and bullet, they ram all down at one motion more. Then they withdraw the rammer, and put it into its place at two motions more. All the four motions are performed very dexterously and quick; and when they shoot at a mark, they level and fire at first sight, yet very successfully.

Tho' the king of Tonquin has no forts, yet he keeps always a great many soldiers in the frontier towns of his kingdom, especially on the south west part thereof, to check the Cochinchinese, his implacable enemies; and tho' there seldom happens a pitched battle between them, yet there are often skirmishings which keep the soldiers on each side upon their guard; and sometimes there are considerable excursions made by one or other party into the enemies territories, where they kill, spoil, and bring away what booty they can find. The king also has always about thirty thousand near his person, and quartered in or about Cachao, ready on all occasions. The dry season is the time for his armies to take the field, or go against an enemy; for in these countries there is no marching in the wet season. When he sends an army by land on any expedition, the general, and other great officers are mounted on elephants. These have neat little boarded houses or castles fastned on their backs, where the great men sit in state, secured from the sun or rain. They have no field pieces in their armies, but instead thereof they carry on mens backs, guns that will carry a four ounce shot. The barrels of these guns are about six or seven feet long; but

but tho' one man carries one of them on his back, yet he cannot hold it out to fire, like small guns, but rests it on its carriage, which is another man's burden, and they two manage it between them. The carriage is only a round piece of wood, about four inches thick, and six or seven feet long. One end of the carriage is supported with two legs, or a fork of three feet high, the other rests on the ground; the gun is placed on the top, where there is an iron socket for the gun to rest in, and a swivel to turn the muzzle any way. From the britch of the gun there is a short stock, for the man who fires the gun to traverse it withal, and to rest it against his shoulder. The use of these guns is to clear a pass, or to fire over the rivers, when the enemy is so commodiously placed, that there is no other way to move him; and they are carried by these two men almost with as much ease as muskets. In these land expeditions they carry but little baggage, besides their necessary arms, ammunition, and provender; so that if they are routed, they lightly scamper away; and generally in these countries the dispute is soon over, for they will not sustain a smart onset.

Besides the soldiers on the frontiers, and those who attend the king about Cachao, he has many others that keep guard in several parts of his kingdom, especially in the great roads, and on the rivers. These search all exported goods, to see that no prohibited goods are sent out of the kingdom, especially arms; and no prohibited goods brought in. They also look after the customs, and see that all goods have paid, before they pass further. All travellers are also searched by them, and strictly examined; and if any persons are taken only on suspicion, they are used very severely, till they can clear themselves; so that no disaffected or rebellious
person

person can stir, without being presently known, and this renders the king very safe in his government.

The king's naval force consists only in a sort of flat bottom'd gallies, and these seemingly designed more for state than service, except to transport soldiers from one place to another. These vessels are fifty, sixty, or seventy feet long, and about ten or twelve feet broad in the waist, and the two ends near as many feet high out of the water, especially the hind part or stern; but the waist, or middle of the vessel is not above two feet and an half from the water, that being the place by which all the men go in and out. From thence towards each end, it is gently and very artificially raised, to a considerable height, so that the whole fabric appears very graceful and pleasant, as it moves on the water. The head or fore part is not altogether so high as the stern, neither is there so much cost bestowed on it for ornament; for tho' it wants neither carved work nor painting, yet it is not comparable to that of the stern, which has great variety of carving, and is curiously lackquer'd and gilded. The place where the captain sits is in the stern, and is neatly covered to keep off the sun or rain; and being higher than any other part of the vessel, appears like a little throne, especially that of the general's galley. This is more magnificent than the rest, tho' all are built much of one form. From the stern to the waist, it is covered over with a slight covering to shelter the men and their arms from the rain in the wet season, and the scorching sun in the dry. Before the waist there are places for the oars on each side, and a plain even deck for the rowers to stand by their tackling. Each galley carries a small brass gun, either minion or saker, which is planted afore, and looks out through a port in the bow. They have a small
mast

maft and matt fail, and are rowed with from fifteen to twenty four oars.

The foldiers are always the men that row, and are all naked, except that they have a narrow piece of black cloth like a fafh about their waifts, which is brought between their thighs, and tuck'd again under their waift. Every one ftands upright behind his oar, which lies in its notch on the gunnel, and he thrufts or pushes it forward with a great ftrength; they plunge their oars all at one infant into the water, keeping exact time with each other: and that they may the better do this, there is one that ftrikes on a small gong, or wooden instrument, before every ftroke of the oar: then the rowers all at once answer with a fort of a hollow noife, through the throat, and a ftamp on the deck with one foot, and immediately plunge their oars into the water. Thus the gong and the rowers alternately answer each other, making a found that feems very pleafant and warlike to thofe who are at a small diftance on the water or fhore.

These boats draw about two feet and a half water; and are only ferviceable in rivers, or at fea near the fhore, and that in very fair weather too. They are beft in broad rivers, near the fea, where they may take the advantage of the tides to help them; for tho' they row pretty fwift when they are light, yet when they have fixty, eighty, or an hundred men on board, as fometimes they have, they are heavy and row slowly againft the ftream. Nevertheless when there is occafion they muft go againft the ftream a great way, tho' they perform it with hard labour.

The foldiers in these veffels are equipt with bows, fwords, and lances, and when many of them are fent on any expedition, they are divided into fquadrons. They are diftinguifhed by their feveral flags
of

of different colours, as appeared by an expedition they made up the river, against some of their northern neighbours, while we were there. There were about sixty of these galleys sent out up the river, and they had from sixteen to forty soldiers each, all well armed. Their general was called Ungee Comei, who was a great mandarin, and was the person appointed by the king to inspect into our English traffic, being made director or protector of the English factory, who used to speak of him as a generous man. There were two more great officers under him, each in a vessel by himself. These three had flags of distinction; the first was yellow, the second blue, the third red or green. They went away from Cachao towards the mountains, but did not return while we were there; but since we came from thence, I have been informed that the expedition prov'd fruitless, and that the general Ungee Comei, was much disgraced.

When the galleys are not in service, they are dragged ashore, and placed in houses built for that purpose, where they are set upright on their bottoms, made very clean, and kept neat and dry. These galley-houses are fifty or sixty paces from the river side; and when they bring the galleys into them, there is a strong rope brought round the stern of the vessel, and both ends stretched along, one on each side, then three or four hundred men standing ready with the rope in their hands, wait for the signal, which being given by the beat of a gong, they begin to draw with all their strength, and making a great shrieking noise, they run her up in a trice into her place. This also is their soldiers work, who having thus housed all their galleys, return to their land service.

Some of the soldiers are employed also in keeping watch and ward, for the security of private men,

men, as well as in the king's business; and the Tonquinese are observed to keep good orders in the night in all towns and villages, but more particularly in the great cities, and especially at Chachao. There every street is guarded with a strong watch, as well to keep silence, as to hinder any disorder. The watchmen are armed with staves, and stand in the street by the watch-houses, to examine every one that passes by. There is also a rope stretched across the street breast high, and no man must pass this place, till he is examined, unless he will venture to be soundly bang'd by the watch. These men can handle their weapon so well, that if they design mischief, they will dextrously break a leg or thigh-bone, that being the place which they commonly strike at. There is a pair of stocks by every watch-house, to secure night ramblers in; but for a small piece of money, a man may pass quiet enough, and for the most part only the poor are taken up. These watchmen are soldiers, but belong to the governor or some other men of great power, who will hear no complaints against them, though never so justly made; and therefore they often put men in the stocks at their pleasure, and in the morning carry them before a magistrate, who commonly fines the prisoners to pay somewhat; and be it more or less, it falls part to the magistrate. Neither dares any man complain of injustice upon such usage: in this case especially; though his cause be never so just; and therefore patience is in this country as necessary for poor people, as in any part of the world.

But notwithstanding these abuses, they have one custom in the administering justice, that is pleasing enough. For if a difference or quarrel at any time happens between two mean men, and they are not to be reconciled without going before a magistrate,

he

he usually considering their poverty, lays no heavy mulct on the offender, but enjoins him as his penalty, that he shall treat the injured person with a jar of arack, and a fowl, or a small porker, that so feasting together, they may both drown all animosity in good liquor, and renew their friendship.

But in a controversy about a debt, they take a very different method. For the debtors are many times ordered to be prisoners in their creditors houses where they are beaten, or kept with a log of wood made fast to their legs, to hinder them from running away. These poor prisoners eat nothing but rice and drink water, and are tyrannically insulted over by their rigid creditors, till the debt is satisfied. Their corporal punishments upon malefactors, and sometimes upon others, are very severe. Some are loaden with iron chains fastened to their legs, with logs also like the debtors, others have their necks inclosed between two great heavy planks made like a pillory, but moveable, for they carry it about with them where-ever they go, and even when they go to rest they are forced to lie down and sleep in it as they can.

There is another sort of punishing instrument not unlike this, called a gongo. This also is made to wear about the neck, but is shaped like a ladder. The sides of it are two large bamboes, of about ten or twelve feet long, with several such rounds or sticks as ladders have to keep the sides asunder; but much shorter; for the two side bamboes are no farther asunder, than to admit of a narrow room for the neck; and the two rounds in the middle are much at the same distance from each other, on each side the neck, forming a little square; through which the man looks as if he were carrying a ladder on his shoulders, with his head through the rounds. If either of these yokes were to be taken
off

off in a short time, as in six, nine, or twelve hours, it would be no great matter; but to wear one of them a month, two, three, or longer, as I have been informed they sometimes do, seems to be a very severe punishment. Yet it is some comfort to some, that they have the liberty to walk abroad where they will, but others are both yoked and imprisoned; and the prisoners in public prisons are used worse than a man would use a dog being half starved and soundly beaten to boot.

They have a particular punishment, for such as are suspected to fire houses, or who are thought to have occasioned the fire through their neglect. The master of the house, where the fire first breaks out, will hardly clear himself from suspicion, and the severity of the law. The punishment in this case is to sit in a chair of twelve or fourteen feet high, bare headed, three whole days successively in the hot scorching sun; this chair is set, for his greater disgrace, before the place where his house stood.

Other smaller crimes are punished with blows; which we call bamboosing. The criminal is laid flat on his belly on the ground, with his breeches pluck'd down over his hams, in which posture a lusty fellow bangs his bare breech with a split bamboo, about four fingers broad, and five feet long. The number of his blows are more or less, according to the nature of the crime, or the pleasure of the magistrate; yet money will buy favour of the executioner, who knows how to moderate his blows for a fee beforehand; otherwise his strokes usually fall so heavy, that the poor offender may be lamed for a month or two. After a man has suffered any of these punishments, he can never obtain any public favour or employment.

They have no courts of judicature, but any single magistrate issues out his warrants for the apprehending

prehending of malefactors, and upon taking them, immediately tries them; and as the sentence is final, so 'tis no sooner past but it is executed also without more ado. Their punishment in capital crimes is usually beheading. The criminal is carried immediately from the magistrate's house to his own; for there is no common place of execution, but the malefactor suffers near his own house, or where the fact was committed. There he is placed, sitting on the ground, with his body upright, and his legs stretched out; and the executioner being provided with a large curtane or backsword, and striketh a full back-blow on the neck, at one stroke he severs the head from the body, the head commonly tumbling down into the owners lap, and the trunk falling backward on the ground.

Theft is not thought worthy of death, but is punished with cutting off some member, or part of a member, according to the degree of the offence. For sometimes only one joint of a finger is chop'd off, for other crimes a whole finger, or more, and for some the whole hand.

The magistrates and other great men of this kingdom, are called mandarins. Most of them in office about the king are eunuchs, and not only castrated, but also their members cut off quite flat to their bellies. These, as I have been informed, are all very learned men after their way, especially in the laws of their country. They rise gradually by their merit or favour, from one degree to another, as well they who are employed in civil as in military affairs; and scarce a place of trust or profit goes beside them. No man is permitted to walk familiarly about the king's palace without the leave of the eunuch mandarins, and for this reason, having such free access to the king themselves, and excluding whom they will, they engross his favour.

This

This is taken so much to heart by some, that thro' envy and discontent; they often pine away, as is commonly said, even to death : and I heard of such a one, who was called Ungee Thuan Ding: Ungee seems a title of honour among them. He was a man of great learning in the laws, extremely politic, and mighty high spirited. This man sought all the means imaginable to be preferred, but could not for want of being an eunuch : he fretted to see his inferiors raised ; but plainly seeing that there was no rising without removing that objection, he one day in a rage took up a sharp knife, and qualified himself effectually. He had a wife and six or eight children, who were all in great fear of his life ; but he was not at all dismayed, tho' in that condition ; and the king advanced him. He was living when I was there, and was a great mandarin. He had the care of the armory and artillery, being great master of the king's ordnance.

There was another mandarin also, one Ungee Hane; who finding himself baffled by the eunuchs, was forced to make himself one to be upon the level with them. This gentleman, it seems, was lord of a village or two, where both he and his tenants were often plagued with the domineering eunuchs ; and having born their malice for some time, and seeing no end of it, he agreed with an expert gelder to castrate him ; for here are many in this country, who profess this art, and are so expert at it, that they will undertake to cut a man of any age, for so many thousand cash as the man is years old. 'Tis reported, that they first put the patient into a sleep ; but how long they are curing him after the operation is over, I know not. I heard of but three mandarins of any grandeur in the government, who were not eunuchs. One was the governor of the East province, whose daughter

was married to a prince of the royal family. The other two, who were governors of Cachao, were also married men, and had children, and one of these married the king's daughter. All the mandarins rule with absolute power and authority in their several precincts, yet in great obedience to the king, who is as absolute over them, as they are over the common people.

These eunuch mandarins especially live in great state. Many of them have command of the soldiery, and have guards attending them at their own houses; there being a certain number of soldiers allowed to attend on each mandarin, according to his quality. They are generally covetous beyond measure, and very malicious. Some of them are governors of provinces, but all are raised to places of trust and profit.

Once every year the mandarins receive an oath of allegiance to the king, from all the principal officers under them. This is done with great ceremony: they cut the throat of a hen, and let the blood fall into a basin of arack. Of this arack every man has a small draught given him to drink, after he has publicly declared his sincerity, and readiness to serve his prince. 'Tis esteemed the solemnest tie by which any man can engage himself. This way of giving solemn potions to drink, is used also in other countries, on different occasions. As particularly, on the Gold Coast of Guinea; where when men or women are taxed for a crime, be it of what nature it will, but especially adultery, and the matter cannot be proved by evidence, the fetifero, or priest, decides the difference, by giving a potion of bitter water, to the person accused; which if they refuse to take, they are supposed to be guilty without farther proof; but if they drink it off, the event is said to be, that if the persons be
guilty,

guilty, this water immediately swells their bodies till they burst; but if innocent, they are not hurt thereby. What tricks the Fetisseros may play in compounding this water, I know not, but this kind of trial is frequent among them, and seems to be a remainder of the old Jewish trial by the waters of jealousy, spoken of in the 5th chapter of Numbers. I am not sufficiently inform'd whether the event of the trial be such as it was among the Jews; but it seems they have a strong persuasion of it, and a guilty person does commonly so dread the being brought to this trial, that for the most part he or she chuses rather to suffer the punishment of the country, which is to be sold to Europeans as slaves. This potion is called bitter-water, and 'tis given by way of trial upon any light suspicion even of a small injury. This account I have had from several, who have been in Guinea, but especially from Mr. Canby.

But to return to the eunuch mandarins; though they are bitter enemies to those whom they take aversion against, yet on the other hand, they are as kind to their favourites, and as complaisant to their visitants, whether foreigners or others, feasting them often. They love mightily to be visited, esteeming themselves highly honour'd thereby. When they treat any, they are best pleased with those who eat and drink heartily; for this they suppose proceeds from their love and hearty affection to them: and indeed the Tonquinese, in general, are very free to their visitants, treating them with the best cheer they are able to procure.

In their entertainments, and at their common eating, instead of forks and spoons, they use two small round sticks about the length and bigness of a tobacco-pipe. They hold them both in the right hand, one between the fore finger and thumb, the

other between the middle finger and the fore finger, as our boys do their snappers. They use them very dextrously, taking up the smallest grain of rice with them; nor is it accounted mannerly to touch the food, after it is dress'd, with their hands; and tho' it be difficult for strangers to use them, being unaccustomed to them, yet a little use will overcome that difficulty, and persons who live here ought to learn this, as well as other customs of the country, that are innocent, that so their company may be more acceptable. All the Tonquinese keep many of these sticks in their house, as well for their own use, as to entertain strangers at meals; they are as commonly placed at table here, as knives, forks, and spoons are in England: and a man that cannot dextrously handle these instruments, makes but an odd figure at their tables. The richer sort of people, especially the Mandarins, have them tipp'd with silver. In China also these things are constantly used: they are called by the English seamen chopsticks. When the eunuch mandarins die, all their riches fall to the king, who as he presently seizeth on their estates, and by it gets vast riches; for there is but little money in the kingdom, but what falls into the clutches of these birds of prey. This probably may be one reason why the king is for preferring none but them, for they are excellent sponges for him; and whatever some have said of their love to justice, I could never learn that they deserved that character: but thro' their oppression and injurious dealing, trading is discouraged, and the country is kept poor, which otherwise might be a flourishing kingdom. After all, as very eunuchs as these mandarins are, yet they are as great admirers of the female sex as any men, and not satisfied without them, but they all keep several handsome young wenches to dally and spend

spend their time with. They also love to be court-
ed by strangers to favour them with a miss of their
procuring. Nothing will engage them more than
to petition them on this account; and the person
thus solicited will not fail to procure a young dam-
sel for his friend, be it but for a night or two, or
four or five months. Ever afterwards he will take
more than ordinary care of the persons he has thus
brought together, and their affairs; and this base
sort of office is here accounted very decent and ho-
nourable. Yet the common bawdy-houses, tho'
extremely rife here, are by all of them accounted
hateful and scandalous.

CHAP. XXX.

*Some vessels sent from Cachao to Tenan to fetch rice,
The author's journey by land to Cachao.*

I Have already spoken of my first going up the
river to Cachao, and my returning back again
to our ships after a few days. There I lay on board
for a great while, and sickly for the most part, yet
not so, but that I took a boat and went ashore one
where or other almost every day; and by this means
I took as particular notice as I could of the coun-
try, and have supplied my own observations with
those of our merchants residing there, and other
persons of judgment and integrity.

During this interval, rice being dear at Cachao,
as it had been for some time, both our merchants
and natives were for making up a fleet of small ves-
sels, to fetch rice from the neighbouring provinces,
both for their own use and to supply the markets;
and they never go in single vessels, for fear of pi-
rates, who infest the coasts with their canoes, and
shelter themselves among several little islands lying

at the edge of the East Province, and bordering upon the province of Tenan, whither these merchants were bound.

Captain Weldon was one who concerned himself in this expedition, hiring a vessel and seamen of the Tonquinese, and sending some of his own men with them as a guard, among whom I would very fain have gone, had I not been indisposed. Mr. Ludford, who had liv'd some time at Cachao before our arrival, was another undertaker, and went himself on board the bark he had hired; but captain Weldon staid behind at the city, yet took care to get a commission from the governor of the East Province for his vessel. In the commission 'twas exprest, that his boat should be armed with guns, or other weapons, and that his men should resist any that came to oppose them, or any vessels in their company, and that they might kill and destroy any robbers that they met with. The passage to Tenan lay most within land, thro' creeks and narrow channels, among the islands before-mentioned, which are so many, and lie on the east side of the bay so thick together, and near the shore, that at a small distance off at sea they appear to be part of the main. This little Archipelago lies within the precincts of the governor of the East province, from whom captain Weldon had his commission, and who was a very great man in the court of Tonquin. When the fleet came to this place, some who lay here came forth; and they concluded they must be the pirates, come to seize their prey as at other times. These always choose rather to take the outward bound vessels, because then they have all of them cash or money on board to purchase their ladings, but in their returns they would have only rice, which these people don't so much regard. At this time captain Weldon's Dutch pilot,

lot, the chief man whom he sent in his bark, was on board Mr. Ludford's; and when the supposed pirates came up, Mr. Ludford and he made the seamen row the bark to meet them, and in a short time came so near, that they fired at them. These men not expecting to have met such a reception (for the Tonquinese have no guns, but in the king's gallies) thought to save themselves by flight, but were so eagerly pursued by Mr. Ludford, that at last they yielded to his mercy, after they had lost one man in the fight. He joyful of this success secured the prisoners, and made the best of his course to the next town on the coast in his way; there delivering up his prisoners to the magistrates, and giving a full relation of the action. He expected a reward for his pains, or at least to be highly applauded for it, but found himself mistaken. For the prisoners obstinately denying what was alledg'd against them by Mr. Ludford, saying they were poor fishermen, they were immediately acquitted as very honest persons, and Mr. Ludford was accused for committing a riot on men who were about their lawful occasions. Mr. Ludford brought many of the natives, that were in his company, to justify what he had done, but to no purpose, for he was fined 100000 cash, as our merchants call it, for the man that was killed. Cash are a small kind of copper money; and 'tis the only coin they have of their own, if it be their own, and not rather brought them from China. They rise and fall in value according to the want or plenty of them, or as the women exchangers can manage them; but at this time they were at the rate of a dollar a thousand, so that his fine was 100 dollars. When Mr. Ludford saw how hard it was like to go with him, he thought to clear himself, or lessen his fine, by bringing captain Weldon into the snare, saying he

had no guns in his bark, but made use of captain Weldon's, and that captain Weldon's pilot was on board his vessel, and assisted in the action. But neither did this help him, for upon trying the matter at Cachao, whither it was carried by appeal, captain Weldon's commission saved him; so that Mr. Ludford was forced to pay the money, which was more than he got by the voyage. This might be a warning to him, how he meddled with Tonquin pirates again; for it was not enough for him to plead that they came with an intent to rob him. Indeed, if he had been robb'd, he might have been pitied by the magistrates on complaint of his misfortune; but yet it is very probable, that if he should have taken them in the very fact, possess'd of his goods, these vermin would have had one hole or another to creep out at; so corrupt are the great men of this kingdom. Indeed it is not improbable, that these fellows were fishermen, and going about their business, for there is good fishing in all the bay of Tonquin clear round it, and there are many boats that go out a fishing and the fishermen are generally very honest and harmless men; except now and then, they attempt to make a prize of some poor vessel they meet, and can overcome by their numbers without fighting; for such a one they board, and strip all the men naked even to the skin. Among these islands also, by report, there are plenty of pearl oysters, that have good pearls in them, but the seamen are discouraged from fishing for them by the king, for he seizes on all he finds; but this by the way, nor was any thing else observable in this voyage to Tenan.

These vessels were five or six weeks in their voyage to and from Tenan; and at their return captain Weldon's bark went not up to Cachao with the rice, but unloaded it into our ship to supply us.

Soon

Soon after this I went a second time up to Cachao, not in a boat as before, but on foot along the country, being desirous to see as much of it as I could: and I hired a Tonquinese for about a dollar to be my guide. This, though but a small matter, was a great deal out of my pocket, who had not above two dollars in all, which I had gotten on board, by teaching some of our young seamen plain sailing.

This was all I had to bear my own charges and my guide's; and 'twas the worse with me, because I was forced to make short journeys every day, by reason of my weakness: it was about the latter end of November, 1688, when we set out. We kept on the east side of the river, where we found the roads pretty dry, yet in some places dirty enough. We ferry'd over several creeks and brooks running into the great river, where are ferry-boats always plying, which have a few cash for their fare. The fever and ague which I brought with me from Achin was gone; yet the fruits I eat here, especially the small oranges, brought me into a flux. However, though I was but weak, yet I was not discouraged from this journey, being weary of lying still, and impatient of seeing somewhat that might further gratify my curiosity.

We found no houses of entertainment on the road, yet at every village we came to we got house-room, and a barbacue of split bamboes to sleep on. The people were very civil, lending us an earthen pot to dress rice, or any thing else. Usually after supper, if the day was not shut in, I took a ramble about the village, to see what was worth taking notice of, especially the pagoda of the place. These had the image of either an horse, an elephant, or both, standing with the head looking out of the doors: the pagodas themselves were but small and low.

low. I still made it dark night before I returned to my lodging, and then I laid me down to sleep. My guide carried my sea-gown, which was my covering in the night, and my pillow was a log of wood; but I slept very well, though the weakness of my body now required better accommodation.

The third day after my setting out, about three o'clock in the afternoon, I saw before me a small tower, such as I mentioned before, as erected for a time in honour of some great person deceased. But I knew not then the meaning of it, for I had not seen the like before in the country. As I came nearer to it, I saw a multitude of people most of them men and boys; and coming nearer still, I saw a great deal of meat on the stalls, that were placed at a small distance from the tower. This made me conclude that it was some great market, and the flesh I saw was for sale; therefore I went in among the crowd, as well to see the tower as buy some of the meat for my supper, it being now between four and five o'clock in the afternoon. My guide could not speak English, neither could I speak the Tonquinese language: so I asked him no questions about it; and he too went readily in with me; it may be not knowing my intent was to buy. First I went round the tower and viewed it: It was four-square, each side about eight feet broad at the ground, the height of it was about 26 feet, but at the top somewhat narrower than at the bottom. I saw no door to enter into it: it seemed to be very slightly built, at least covered with thin boards, which were all joined close together, and painted of a dark reddish colour. I then went on to the stalls, which had sheds built over them; and there I viewed the fruits and flesh, each of which was ranged in order apart. I pass by abundance of oranges packed up in baskets, which

which I think were the fairest I ever saw, and for quantity more than I had seen gathered all the time I was at Tonquin. I past by these, and seeing no other fruit, I came to the flesh stalls, where was nothing but pork, and this also was cut into quarters and sides of pork; I thought there might be fifty or sixty hogs cut up thus, and all seemed to be very good meat. When I saw that there was none of it in small pieces, fit for my use, I, as was customary in the markets, took hold of a quarter, and made signs to the master of it, as I thought, to cut me a piece of two or three pounds. I was ignorant of any ceremony they were about, but the superstitious people soon made me sensible of my error; for they assaulted me on all sides, buffeting me and renting my cloths, and one of them snatched away my hat. My guide did all he could to appease them, and dragged me out of the croud; yet some surly fellows followed us, and seemed by their countenance and gestures to threaten me; but my guide at last pacified them and fetched my hat, and we marched away as fast as we could. I could not be informed of my guide what this meant; but some time after when I was returned to our ship, the guide's brother, who spoke English, told me, it was a funeral feast, and that the tower was the tomb which was to be burned; and some Englishmen who lived there told me the same. This was the only funeral feast that ever I was at among them, and they gave me cause to remember it; but this was the worst usage I received from any of them all the time that I was in the country. When I was out of this trouble, my guide and I marched forwards. I was both weary and hungry, and I think my appetite was raised by seeing so much food; for indeed at first sight of it I concluded to have had a good supper; but now I was likely to sup
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only on rice, or a yam roasted, and two eggs, as I used to do. For though there were fowls to be bought at every house where I lay, yet my pocket would not reach them; and other flesh, there was none to be had, unless my way had lain through the towns when it was market day with them.

Two days after this, I got with much ado to Hean, for my flux increased, and my strength decreased. I presently made towards the French bishops, as the likeliest place for me both to rest at, and get larger informations of the country, from the European missionaries, whose seat it is. The bishops palace is a pretty neat low house, standing at the north end of the town, by the side of the river. 'Tis encompassed with a pretty high wall, and has a large gate to enter at. The gate stands fronting to the street, and runs up with houses on both sides, and ends at the palace. Within the wall there is a small yard, that goes round the palace, and at the farther end of the yard there are small lodging-rooms for the servants, and other necessary offices. The house itself is not very large nor high; it stands not in the middle of the yard, but rather nearest the gate, which is open all day, but shut in the night. That part that fronts the gate, has a pretty neat room, which seems to be designed for the reception of strangers; for it has no communication with any other room in the house, though joined to it as one building; the door by which you enter it fronts to the gate, and this door also stands open all the day.

When I came hither I entered the gate, and seeing no body in the yard, I went into that room. At the door thereof, I found a small line hanging down, which I pulled, and a bell ringing within, gave notice of my being there; yet no body appearing presently, I went in and sat down. There
was

was a table in the middle of the room, and handsome chairs, and several European pictures hung upon the walls.

It was not long before one of the priests came into the room to me, and received me very civilly. With him I had a great deal of discourse; he was a Frenchman by nation, but spoke Spanish and Portuguese very well. It was chiefly in Spanish that we entertained each other, which I understood much better than I could speak; yet I asked him questions, and made a shift to answer him to such questions as he asked me, and when I was at a loss in my Spanish, I had recourse to Latin, having still some smatterings of what I learned of it at school in my youth. He was very free to talk with me, and first asked me my business thither? I told him that my business was to Cachao, where I had been once before; that then I went by water, but now I was moved by my curiosity to travel by land, and that I could not pass by any Europeans without a visit, especially such a famous place as this. He asked me many other questions, and particularly if I was a Roman catholic? I told him no, but falling then into discourse about religion, he told me what progress the gospel was like to make in these eastern nations. First he began with the Nicobar islands, and told me what I have related of that matter, in the 24th chapter, page 147, for this was the person I there quoted, and from whom I had that relation, as he told me he had it from the friar, who wrote to him from Fort St. George. But that friar having been a passenger in captain Weldon's ship, from one of the Nicobar islands to Fort St. George, I asked the captain's opinion of that relation, since my writing that book, and he gave me a quite contrary account of the people of Nicobar; that they were a very perverse, false, thievish

thievish people, and did not deserve the good character the friar gave them.

But to proceed with the discourse I had with the French priest at Hean. He told me, that in Siam the gospel was in a fair way to receive encouragement by means of a French bishop there, and several ecclesiastics he had with him to assist him; that the great minister of state, Constant Falcon, had embraced the Romish faith, and the king was very much inclined to it; the courtiers also seemed well enough pleased with it; insomuch that it was hop'd in a short time the whole nation would be converted: that tho' the country people in general were against it, yet by the example of the king and his court, the rest might come over by degrees; especially because the priests had free toleration to use their endeavour. As for Tonquin, he told me that the people in general were inclined to embrace the Christian faith, but that the government was wholly averse to it: that the missionaries who lived here did not openly profess to be teachers of their doctrine, but that they lived here under the notion of merchants, and not as clergymen; that this was a great obstacle to christianity, yet nevertheless they found ways to draw the people from their ignorance; that at present they had about fourteen thousand converts, and more coming in daily. He told me that here were two bishops, I think both Frenchmen, one of them was entitled the bishop of Ascalon, the other of Auran, and that here were ten priests of Europe, and three more of the natives of Tonquin, who had been ordained popish priests. But since, I have been informed that these French bishops were not suffered to live at Cachao, neither may they at any time go thither without licence from the governor; and such licence also must be procured by the favour of some mandarin who lives

lives at Cachao, for whom the bishop or other missionary is to perform some trivial work or other. For the missionaries living here are purposely skill'd in mending clocks, watches, or some mathematical instruments, of which the country people are ignorant, and this gives them the opportunity of being often sent for to Cachao by the mandarins, and when they are there, a small job that would not require above five or six hours to perform, they will be twice as many days about, pretending great difficulty in the work, by which means they take the liberty privately to teach their disciples that live there; and then also they enjoy themselves with the English and Dutch merchants, to whom they are always welcome.

As to the converts these people have made, I have been credibly informed that they are chiefly of the very poor people, and that in the scarce times, their alms of rice have converted more than their preaching; and as to those also who have been converted, as they call it, that is, to beads and new images, and belief in the pope, they have fallen off again, as rice grew plentiful, and would no longer be christians than while the priests administered food to them. Yet I cannot think but that these people, who have such notions of a supreme deity, might by the industry and example of good men, be brought to embrace the Christian faith. But as things stand at present, it seems very improbable that christianity should fructify there; for as the English and Dutch in these parts of the world are too loose livers to gain reputation to their religion, so are the other Europeans, I mean the missionary priests, especially the Portuguese, but very blind teachers. But indeed as the Romanists are the only men who compass sea and land to gain proselytes, so they may seem to have one advantage over protestant

stant ministers in these idolatrous countries, that they present them with such kind of objects, for religious worship, as they have been used to already, for the exchange is not great from pagan idols to images of saints, which may serve altogether as well for the poor souls they convert, who are guided only by sense. But then even here also, these people having been bred up in the belief of the goodness of their own gods or heroes, they will more hardly be brought over to change their own idols for new ones, without some better arguments to prove these to be more valuable, than the missionaries ordinarily are able to afford them; and if I may freely speak my opinion, I am apt to think, the gross idolatry of the papists is rather a prejudice, than advantage to their missions; and that their first care should be to bring the people to be virtuous and considerate, and their next, to give them a plain history and scheme of fundamental truths of christianity, and shew them how agreeable they are to natural light, and how worthy of God.

But to return to the French priest; he at length asked me, if any of our English ships brought powder to sell; I told him I thought not. Then he asked me if I knew the composition of powder, I answer'd that I had receipts how to make either cannon or fine powder, and told him the manner of the composition. Said he, I have the same receipts from France, and have tried to make powder but could not, and therefore I think the fault is in our coals. Then he asked me many questions about the coals, what were proper to be used, but that I could not satisfy him in. He desired me to try to make a pound, and told me that he had all the ingredients, and an engine to mix them. I was easily persuaded to try my skill, which I had never yet tried,

tried, not knowing what I might be put to before I got to England, and having drank a glass or two of wine with him, I went to work, and I succeeded so well, that I pleased him extremely, and satisfied my own desire of trying the receipt, and the reader shall have the history of the operation, if he pleases. He brought me sulphur and salt-petre, and I weighed a portion of each of these, and of coals I gathered up in the hearth, and beat to powder. While his man mixed these in a little engine, I made a small sieve of parchment, which I pricked full of holes, with a small iron made hot, and this was to corn it. I had two large arek nuts to roul in the sieve, and work it through the holes to corn it. When it was dry we proved it, and it answered our expectation. The receipt I had out of captain Sturmeys Magazine of Arts.

The being so successful in this put me afterwards on the renewing of powder at Bencouli, when I was there gunner of that fort. There being then about thirty barrels damnified, which was like mud, they took it out of the cask, and put it into earthen jars, that held about eight barrels a piece. These they call mortaban jars, from a town of that name in Pegu, whence they are brought and carried all over India. In these 'twas intended to send the powder to Fort St. George, to be renewed there; but I desired the governor to let me first try my skill on it, because we had but little powder in the fort, and might have wanted before any returns could be expected from thence. The salt-petre was sunk to the bottom of the jars, but I mixed it, and beat it altogether, and corned it with sieves which I made of my own old parchment draughts. I made thus eight barrels full of very good powder before I went from thence. The French priest told me in conclusion, that the Grandees made all their own pow-

der, and since I have been informed, that the soldiers make powder, as I have already said.

I spent the remainder of the day in the palace with the priest. He told me that the bishop was not well, otherwise I should have seen him; and that because it was a fifth day, I could not expect such entertainment, as I might have had on another day; yet he ordered a fowl to be broiled for my dinner, and I dined by myself. In the evening he sent me out of the palace, desiring to be excused, that he could not entertain me all night; yet ordered his man to lodge me in a Tonquinese christian house not far from thence. The people were civil, but very poor, and my lodging such as I had met with on the road. I have since been told, that the new christians come to do their devotion in the palace at night, and for that reason probably, I was so soon dismissed.

I was now again pretty well refreshed, and might have gone to Cachao city on foot; but fearing my strength, I chose to go by water. Therefore I sent back my guide; yet before he departed back to our ships, he bargained with a Tonquinese waterman for my passage to Cachao.

The tide not serving presently to embark, I walked about the town, and spent the day in viewing it; in the evening embarked, and they chose an evening for coolness, rowing all night. The boat was about the bigness of a Gravesend wherry, and was uted purposely to carry passengers, having a small covering over-head to keep them dry when it rained. There were four or five more of these boats, that went up this tide full of passengers. In our boat were about twenty men and women, besides four or six that rowed us. The women chose their places, and sat by themselves, and had much respect shewed them; but the men stowed close together,

ther, without shewing any respect to one more than another, yet all very civil. I thrust in among the thickest of them at first, but my flux would not suffer me to rest long in a place. About midnight we were set ashore to refresh ourselves at a baiting place, where there were a few houses close by the rivers side, and the people up, with candles light-ed, arack and tea, and little spits of meat, and other provisions ready dressed, to receive us. For these were all houses of entertainment, and probably got their living by entertaining passengers. We staid here about an hour, and then entered again on our boat, and rowed forwards. The passengers spent the time in merry discourse, or singing, after their way, though to us it seems like crying, but I was mute for want of a person I could converse with. About eight or nine o'clock the next day I was set ashore; the rest of the passengers remained in the boat, but whither they were bound I know not, nor whether the boat went quite up to Cachao. I was now five or six miles short of the city, but in a good path; for the land here was pretty high, level and sandy, and the road plain and dry, and I reached Cachao by noon. I presently went to one Mr. Bowyer's house, who was a free merchant with whom captain Weldon lodged, and staid with them a few days; but so weak with my flux, which daily increased, that I was scarce able to go about; and so was forced to learn by others, in a great measure, several particulars relating to this place. This my weakness, joined with my disappointment, for I found that I was not like to be employed in any voyage to the neighbouring countries, as it had been proposed, made me very desirous of returning back again, as soon as might be; and it happened opportunely, that

S 2 *continued in next page* captain

captain Weldon had by this time done his business, and was preparing for his departure.

I went therefore down the river again to our ships, in a vessel our merchants had hired, to carry their goods on board from Cachao. Among other freight there were two bells of about five hundred weight each, which had been cast at Cachao by the Tonquinese, for my Lord Falcon, the king of Siam's chief minister of state, and for the use of some of the christian churches in Siam. The person who bespoke them and was to carry them was captain Brewster, who had not very long before come from Siam in a ship of that king's, and had been cast away on the coast of Tonquin, but had saved most of his goods. With these he traded at Cachao, and among other goods he had purchased to return with to Siam, were these two bells, all which he sent down to be put on board captain Weldon's ship. But the bark was no sooner come to Hean, in going down the river, but the governor of Hean's officers came on board the bark and seized the two bells in behalf of the chief of the English factory, who understanding they were designed for the king of Siam, which they were not so sure of as to the rest of the goods, and the English being then at war with the Siamese, he made this his pretence for seizing them, and got the governor to assist him with his authority; and the bells were accordingly carried ashore, and kept at Hean. This was thought a very strange action of the chief of the factory, to seize goods as belonging to the king of Siam, while they were in a river of Tonquin; but he was a person but meanly qualified for the station he was in. Indeed had he been a man of spirit, he might have been serviceable in getting a trade with Japan, which is a very rich one, and much coveted by the eastern people themselves, as well as Europeans.

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For while I was there, there were merchants came every year from Japan to Tonquin; and by some of these our English factory might probably have settled a correspondence and traffick. But he who was little qualified for the station he was in, was less fit for any new undertaking; and though men ought not to run inconsiderately into new discoveries or undertakings, yet where there is a prospect of profit, I think it not amiss for merchants to try for a trade; for if our ancestors had been as dull as we have of late, 'tis probable we had never known the way so much as to the East Indies, but must have been beholden to our neighbours, for all the product of those Eastern nations. What care was formerly taken to get us a trade into the East Indies, and other countries? what pains particularly did some take to find out the Muscovites by doubling the North cape, and away thence by land trade into Persia? but now, as if we were cloyed with trade, we sit still contented, saying with Cato, *Non minor est virtus quam quærere parta tueri*. This was the saying of an eminent merchant of the East India company to me, but by his leave, our neighbours have encroached on us, and that in our times too. However 'tis certainly for the interest of our merchants, to employ fit men in their factories, since the reputation of the company rises or falls by the discreet management or ill conduct of the agents. Nor is it enough for the chief of a factory to be a good merchant, and an honest man; for though these are necessary qualifications, yet the governor or chief of a factory ought to know more than barely how to buy, sell, and keep accounts; especially where other European merchants reside among them, or trade to the same places; for they keep a diligent eye on the management of our affairs, and are always ready to take all advantages

of our mis-improvements; neither ought this care to be neglected where we have the trade to ourselves, for there ought to be a fair understanding between us and the natives, and care taken that they should have no reason to complain of unjust dealings, as I could shew where there has been; but 'tis an invidious subject, and all that I aim at is to give a caution. But to the matter in hand; it seemed to me, that our factory at Tonquin might have got a trade with Japan, and to China as much as they pleased. I confess the continual wars between Tonquin and Cochinchina, were sufficient to obstruct the designs of making a voyage to this last, and those other places of Champa and Cambodia, as they are less known, so was it more unlikely still to make thither any profitable voyages; yet possibly the difficulties here also are not so great, but resolution and industry would overcome them, and the profit would abundantly compensate the trouble.

But to proceed, we found there was no recovering the bells, so we fell down from Hean to our ships; and captain Weldon coming to us in a few days, and captain Brewster with him, to go as a passenger in his ship, with one or two more; and the two ships who came with us being also ready for their departure, we all weighed anchor and took leave of Tonquin.

C H A P. XXXI.

They set sail out of the Bay of Tonquin: Some particulars of Cambodia and Bencouli, and arrival at Malacca and Achin.

IT was the beginning of February 1688-9 when we left this country. We went over the bar three ships in company, the Rainbow captain Pool commander

commander bound for London, and captain Lacy in the Saphire bound for Fort St. George, and I was in captain Weldon's ship the Curtane, bound thither also. We kept company some time after our departure from Tonquin, and having an easterly wind we kept more to the middle of the bay of Tonquin, or towards the eastern side, than when we entered; by which means we had the opportunity of sounding as well in the middle of the bay now, as we had on the west side of it, at our coming into the bay.

Coming out of the bay of Tonquin, we stood away southward, having the shoals of Pracel on our larboard, and the coasts of Cochinchina, Champa and Cambodia on our starboard. I have just mentioned these kingdoms in my former volume; and here I have but little to say of them, having only failed by them. But not altogether to fail the readers expectation, I shall give a brief account of one or two particulars relating to Cambodia, for as to Champa, I have nothing material to speak; and Cochinchina, I have already spoken of in this volume, as we went to Tonquin.

The kingdom of Cambodia seems to be much such a kind of country within land, as the lower parts of Tonquin; low land, very woody, and little inhabited, lying on each side a great river, that comes from the north a great way, and falls into the sea over against Pulo Condore. I know not the particular product of Cambodia, but in the vessels mentioned in my former volume, as taken at Pulo Uby, and which came thither from Cambodia, there were besides rice, dragons blood, lack, in great jars, but it look'd blackish and thick; and the yellow purging gum, which we from thence call Cambodia, in great cakes, but I know not whence they get it. This river and kingdom, if it be one, is

but little known to our nation; yet some Englishmen have been there, particularly captain Williams and captain Howel, the last of whom I came acquainted with sometime after this at Fort St. George. and had of him the following account, the particulars of which were also confirmed by the seamen who were with him.

These two captains, with many more Englishmen, had been for some time in the service of the king of Siam, and each of them commanded a stout frigate of his, manned chiefly with English, and some Portuguese born at Siam. These the king of Siam sent against some pirates, who made spoil of his subjects trading in these seas, and nested themselves in an island up the river Cambodia. Captain Howel told me, that they found this river very large, especially at its mouth; that it is deep and navigable for very great vessels, sixty or seventy leagues up, and that its depth and wideness extended much further up, for ought he knew; but so far they went up, at this time, with their ships. The course of the river is generally from north to south; and they found the land low on each side, with many large creeks and branches, and in some places considerable islands. They bended their course up that branch which seemed most considerable, having the tide of flood with them, and the river commonly so wide, as to give them room to turn, or make angles, where the bending of the river was such, as to receive a contrary east or south east sea wind. These reaches or bendings of the river east and west, were very rare, at least so as to make their course be against the sea wind, which commonly blew in their stern, and so fresh, that with it they could stem the tide of ebb. But in the night when the land winds came, they anchored and lay still till about ten or eleven o'clock the next day,

day, at which time the sea breeze usually sprung up again, and enabled them to continue their course, till they came to the island where the pirates inhabited. They presently began to fire at them, and landing their men, routed them, and burned their houses and fortifications, and taking many prisoners returned back.

These piratical people were by nation Chinese, who when the Tartars conquered their country, fled from thence in their own ships; as choosing rather to live any where free, than to submit to the Tartars. These it seems in their flight bent their course towards this country, and finding the river of Cambodia open before them, they made bold to enter, and settle on the island before mentioned. There they built a town, and fenced it round about with a kind of wood-pile, or wall of great timber trees, laid along, of the thickness of three or four of these trees, and about as many in height. They were provided with all sorts of planters instruments, and the land hereabouts was excellent good, as our Englishmen told me, so that it is likely they might have lived here happily enough, had their inclinations led them to a quiet life; but they brought arms with them, and chose to use them rather than their instruments of husbandry; and they lived therefore mostly by rapine, robbing their neighbours, who were more used to traffic than fighting. But the king of Siam's subjects having been harrassed by them at sea, he first sent some forces by land, to drive them out of their fort; but not succeeding that way, he entirely routed them by sending these two ships up the river. The two captains having thus effected their business, returned out of the river with many prisoners; but the S. W. monsoon being already set in, they could not presently return to Siam, and therefore went to Macao in China, as well

well to wait for the north east monsoon, as to ingratiate themselves with the Tartars, whom they expected would be pleased with the conquest, which they had made over these Chinese pirates. They were well entertained there by the Tartarian governor, and gave him their prisoners; and when the monsoon shifted, they returned to Siam. There they were received with great applause: nor was this the first successful expedition the English have made in the king of Siam's service. They once saved the country, by suppressing an insurrection made by the Buggasses: they are a sort of warlike trading Malayans, and mercenary soldiers of India; I know not whence they come, unless from Macasser in the island Celebes. Many of them had been entertained at Siam in the king's service; but at last being disgusted at some ill usage, they stood up in their own defence. Some hundreds of them got together, all well armed; and these struck a dread into the hearts of the Siamese, none of whom were able to stand before them, till Constant Falcon the chief minister, commanded the English that were then in the king's service to march against them, which they did with success, tho' with some considerable loss. For these services the king gave every year, to each of them, a great silk coat, on which were just thirteen buttons. Those of the chief commanders were of massy gold, and those of the inferior officers were of silver plate. This expedition against the Chinese pirates was about the year 1687, the other broil with the buggasses was, as I take it, some time before.

But to proceed with our voyage; we still kept our way southward, and in company together, till we came about Pulo Condore; but then captain Pool parted from us, and stood more directly south, for the streights of Sundy, and we steered more to the

the westward, to go thro' the streights of Malacca thro' which we came before. Captain Brewster and another of our passengers began now to be in fear that the king of Siam would send ships to lie at the mouth of the streights of Malacca, and intercept us, because there was a war broke out between the English East India company and that prince. This seemed the more likely, because the French at this time were employed in that king's service, by means of a French bishop and other ecclesiasticks, who were striving to convert the king and people to christianity, thro' the interest they had with Constant Falcon. Particularly they were afraid, that the king of Siam would send the two ships before mentioned, which captain Williams and captain Howel had commanded a little before, to lie at the west end of the streights mouth; but probably mann'd with French men and French commanders, to take us. Now tho' this made but little impression on the minds of our commanders and officers, yet it so happened that we had such thick dark weather, when we came near the first entrance of the streights of Malacca, which was that we came by, and by which we meant to return, that we thought it not safe to stand in at night, and so lay by till morning. The next day we saw a jonk to the southward, and chased her; and having spoke with her we made sail, and stood to the westward to pass the streights; and making the land, we found we were to the southward of the streights first mouth, and were got to the southermost entrance, near the Sumatra shore; but captain Lacy who chose to go the old way, made sail again to the northward, and so passed nearer the Malacca shore by the Sincapore, the way we went before. His was also the best and nearest way; but captain Weldon was willing to satisfy his curiosity, and try a new passage, which
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we found, tho' we had but little depth of water; and this entrance we pass is called Brewer's streights.

Brewer's streights are sometimes passed by small ships, that sail from Batavia to Malacca, because for them it is a nearer cut, than to run so far as Pulo Timaon, or the streights of Sincapore. In this channel, tho' in some places we found but fourteen or fifteen feet water, yet the bottom was soft ooze, and it lies so among islands, that there cannot go a great sea. Captain Weldon had also a Dutchman on board who had been this way, and he professing to know the channel, encouraged our captain to try it, which we affected very well, tho' sometimes we had but little more water than we drew. This made us make but an easy sail, and therefore we were seven or eight days before we arrived at Malacca; but captain Lacy was there two or three days before us.

Here we first heard of the death of Constant Falcon, for whom captain Brewster seemed to be much concerned. There also we found, besides several Dutch sloops, and our companion captain Lacy, an English vessel of thirty five or forty tons. This vessel was bought by one captain Johnson, who was sent by the governor of Bencouli, in a small sloop, to trade about the island of Sumatra for pepper; but captain Johnson being killed, the sloop was brought hither by Mr. Wells.

Being thus insensibly fallen into the mention of this captain Johnson; and intending to defer what little I have to say of Malacca, till my coming thither again from Achin, I shall bestow the rest of this chapter in speaking of this man's tragedy, and other occurrences relating to it, which though of no great moment in themselves, yet the circumstances I shall have occasion to relate with them, may be of use to the giving some small light into the

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the state of the opposite coast of Sumatra, which was the scene of what I am going to speak of; for though I shall have other occasion to speak of Achin and Bencouli, yet I shall not have opportunity to say any thing of this part of that island opposite to Malacca, unless I do it here. To go on therefore with his story, it seems captain Johnson was part owner of the small Bencouli sloop, but thinking it too small for his turn, he came to Malacca, intending to buy a larger sloop of the Dutch, if he could light on a bargain. He had the best part of a thousand dollars in Spanish money on board, for which one may purchase a good sloop here; for the Dutch, as I have before observed, do often buy proe-bottoms for a small matter, of the Malaysans, especially of the people of Jihore, and convert them into sloops, either for their own use, or to sell. Of these sort of vessels therefore the Dutchmen of Malacca have plenty, and can afford good pennyworths, and doubtless it was for this reason that captain Johnson came hither to purchase a good sloop. Here he met with a bargain, not such a proe-bottom reformed, but an old ill shaped thing, yet such a one as pleased him. The Dutchman who sold him this vessel, told him withal that the government did not allow any such dealings with the English, though they might wink at it; and that therefore the safest way for them both to keep out of trouble, would be to run over to the other side of the streights, to a town called Bencalis on Sumatra; where they might safely buy and sell, or exchange without any notice taken of them. Captain Johnson accepting the offer, they sailed both together over to Bencalis, a Malayan town on that coast, commanding the country about it. There they came to an anchor, and captain Johnson paying the price agreed on for the vessel, he had
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her delivered to him. The Dutchman immediately returned over to Malacca again, leaving captain Johnson with two vessels under his command, viz. the sloop that he brought from Bencouli, and this new bought vessel. The Bencouli sloop he sent into a large river hard by, to trade with the Malayans for pepper, under the command of Mr. Wells. He was no seamen, but a pretty intelligent person, that came first out of England as a soldier, to serve the East India company in the island Santa Helena. He lived sometime very meanly in that island; but having an aspiring mind, he left that poor, but healthy place, to serve the company at Bencouli, which though it is accounted the most unhealthy place of any that we trade to, yet the hopes of preferment engaged him to remove thither. After some stay there, he was sent with captain Johnson to assist him in this pepper expedition; more because he could use his pen, than his hands in sea service. He had three or four raw seamen with him to work the sloop up into the river. Captain Johnson staid near Bencalis to fit his new vessel; for with other necessaries she wanted a new bolt-sprit, which he intended to cut here, having a carpenter with him for that purpose; as also to repair and fit her to his mind. He had also a few other raw seamen, but such as would have made better landmen, they having served the king of Siam as soldiers; and were but lately come from thence with the French, who were forced to leave that country. But here in the Indies, our English are forced for want of better, to make use of any seamen such as they can get, and indeed our merchants are often put hard to it for want of seamen. Here are indeed Lascars or Indian Seamen enough to be hired, and these they often make use of; yet they always covet an Englishman or two in a vessel to assist

list them. Not but these Lascars are some of them indifferent good sailors, and might do well enough, but an Englishman will be accounted more faithful, to be employed on matters of moment, besides the more free conversation that may be expect from them, during the term of the voyage. So that though oft times their Englishmen are but ordinary sailors, yet they are promoted to some charge of which they could not be so capable any where but in the East Indies. These seamen would be in a manner wholly useles in Europe, where we meet more frequent and hard storms, but here they serve indifferent well, especially to go and come with the monsoons, but enough of that.

Mr. Wells being gone to purchase pepper, captain Johnson went ashore about five or six leagues from Bancalis town with his carpenter, to cut a boltsprit, there being plenty of timber trees fit for his purpose. He soon chose one to his mind, and cut it down. He and his carpenter wrought on it the first and second days without molestation. The third day they were both set upon by a band of armed Malayans, who killed them both. In the evening the sailors who were left on board, looked out for their commander to come off; but night approached without seeing or hearing from him, this put them in some doubt of his safety; for they were sensible enough, that the Malayans who inhabited thereabouts were very treacherous; as indeed all of them are, especially those who have but little commerce with strangers; and therefore all people ought to be very careful in dealing with them, so as to give them no advantage, and then they may trade safe enough.

There were but four seamen on board capt. Johnson's sloop. These being terrified by the absence of their commander, and suspecting the truth, were
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now very apprehensive of their own safeties. They charged their guns, and kept themselves on their guards, expecting to be assaulted by the Malaysans. They had two blunderbuffes, and three or four muskets; each man took one in his hand, with a caduce box at his waist, and look'd out sharp for fear of an enemy. While they were thus on their guard, the Malaysans in six or eight canoes, came very silently to attack the sloop. They were about forty or fifty men, armed with lances and creffets. The darkness of the night favoured their designs, and they were even on board before the seamen perceived them. Then these began to fire, and the enemy darted their lances on board, and boarding the vessel, they entered her over the prow. The seamen resolutely defended her, and drove them over board again. Of the four seamen, two were desperately wounded in the first attack. The Malaysans took fresh courage and entered again; and the two seamen who were not wounded betook themselves to close quarters in the steerage; and there being loop-holes to fire out at, they repulsed the Malaysans again, forcing them into their canoes. Their bellies being now pretty full, they returned on shore without hopes of conquering the sloop. The poor seamen were still in fear, and kept watch all night, intending to sell their lives as dear as they could, if they had been attacked again. For they might not, neither did they expect quarter, from these savage Malaysans; but they were no more assaulted. These two that were wounded died in a short time.

The next day the two seamen got up their anchor, and run as near the town of Bancalis as they could, it may be within half a mile. There they anchored again, and made signs for the people to come on board. It was not long before the Shabander

bander or chief magistrate of the town came off; to him they told all their misfortunes, and desired him to protect them, because they were not of sufficient strength to hold out against another attack. The Shabander seemed very sorry for what had happened, and told them that he could not help what was past, for the people who did it were wild unruly men, not subject to government, and that it was not in his power to suppress them; but that as long as they lay there some of his men should lie on board to secure the ship, and he, in the mean time, would send a canoe to their consort Mr. Wells, to give him an account how things went. Accordingly he left ten or twelve of his own Malaysans on board the bark, and sent a letter written by the seamen to Mr. Wells, who was, as I have said, dealing with the natives for pepper, in a river at some distance.

It was two or three days before Mr. Wells came to them. He had not then received the letter, and therefore they suspected the shabander of falsehood, tho' his men were yet very kind, and serviceable to the two seamen. Mr. Wells had heard nothing of their disasters, but returned for want of trade; at least such a full trade as he expected. For tho' here is pepper growing, yet not so much as might allure any one to seek after it; for the Dutch are so near, that none can come to trade among them but by their permission. And tho' the natives themselves were ever so willing to trade with any nation, as indeed they are, yet the Dutch could soon hinder it, even by destroying them, if in order to it they should set themselves to produce much pepper. Such small quantities as they do at present raise up, or procure from other parts of the island, is lick'd up by the Dutch, or by their friends of Bancalis for them; for the town of Bancalis be-

ing the principal of these parts, and so near Malacca, as only parted by the narrow sea or streights, 'tis visited by the Dutch in their small vessels, and seems wholly to depend on a trade with that nation, not daring to trade with any besides: and I judge it is by the friendship of this town, that the Dutch drive a small trade in these parts, and by it also vend many of their own commodities; and these also trading with their neighbours into the country, bring their commodities hither, where the Dutch come for them. The people of Bancalis therefore, tho' they are Malayans, as the rest of the country, yet they are civil enough, engaged thereto by trade; for the more trade, the more civility; and on the contrary, the less trade the more barbarity and inhumanity. For trade has a strong influence upon all people, who have found the sweets of it, bringing with it so many of the conveniencies of life as it does. And I believe that even the poor Americans, who have not yet tasted the sweetness of it, might be allured to it by an honest and just commerce; even such of them as yet seem to covet no more than a bare subsistence of meat and drink, and a clout to cover their nakedness. That extensive continent hath yet millions of inhabitants, both on the Mexican and Peruvian parts, who are still ignorant of trade, and they would be fond of it, did they once experience it; tho' at present they live happy enough, by enjoying such fruits of the earth, as nature has bestowed on those places, where their lot is fallen; and it may be, they are happier now, than they may hereafter be, when more known to the avaritious world. For with trade they will be in danger of meeting with oppression; men not being content with a free traffick, and a just and reasonable gain, especially in those remote countries; but they must have the current run altogether

gether in their own channel, tho' to the depriving the poor natives they deal with, of their natural liberty, as if all mankind were to be ruled by their laws. The islands of Sumatra and Java can sufficiently witness this, the Dutch, having in a manner ingrossed all the trade of those, and several of the neighbouring countries to themselves; not that they are able to supply the natives with a quarter of what they want, but because they would have all the produce of them at their own disposal. Yet even in this they are short, and may be still more disappointed of the pepper trade, if other people would seek it. For the greatest part of the island of Sumatra propagates this plant, and the natives would readily comply with any, who would come to trade with them, notwithstanding the great endeavours the Dutch make against it; for this island is so large, populous, and productive of pepper, that the Dutch are not able to draw all to themselves. Indeed this place about Bancalis, is in a manner at their devotion; and for ought I know, it was through a design of being revenged on the Dutch that captain Johnson lost his life. I find the Malaysians in general, are implacable enemies to the Dutch, and all seems to rise from an earnest desire they have of a free trade, which is restrained by them, not only here, but in the spice islands, and in all other places, where they have any power. But it is freedom only must be the means to encourage any of these remote people to trade; especially such of them as are industrious, and whose inclinations are bent this way, as most of the Malaysians are, and the major part of the people of the East Indies, even from the cape of Good Hope eastward to Japan, both continent and islands. For tho' in many places, they are limited by the Dutch, English, Danes, &c. and restrained from a free trade

with other nations, yet have they continually shewn what an uneasiness that is to them. And how dear has this restraint cost the Dutch ? when yet neither can they with all the forts and guard-ships secure the trade wholly to themselves, any more than the Barlaventa fleet can secure the trade of the West Indies to the Spaniards ; but enough of this matter.

You have heard before, that Mr. Wells came with his sloop to Bancalis, to the great joy of the two men, that were yet alive in captain Johnson's vessel. These two seamen were so just, that they put all captain Johnson's papers and money into one chest, then lock'd it, and put the key of it into another chest ; and locking that, threw the key of it into the sea ; and when Mr. Wells came on board, they offered him the command of both vessels. He seemingly refused it, saying that he was no seaman, and could not manage either of them ; yet by much importunity he accepted the command of them, or at least undertook the account of what was in the sloop, and engaged to give a faithful account of it to governor Bloom.

They were all now so weakened, that they were but just enough to sail one of the vessels. Therefore they sent to the Shabander of Bancalis, to desire some of his men, to help to sail the sloops over to Malacca, but he refused it. Then they offered to sell one of them for a small matter but neither would he buy. Then they offered to give him the smallest ; to that he answered, that he did not dare to accept of her, for fear of the Dutch. Then Mr. Wells and his crew concluded to take the pepper and all the stores out of the small vessel, and burn her, and go away with the other to Malacca. This they put in execution, and presently went away, and opening captain Johnson's chest, they found two or three hundred dollars in money. This with all his writings,

writings, and what else they found of value, Mr. Wells took into his possession. In a very short time they got over to Malacca. There they staid expecting the coming of some English ship, to get a pilot to navigate the sloop; for none of them would undertake to navigate her farther. Captain Lacy coming hither first, he spared Mr. Wells his chief mate, to conduct her to Achin: when we came hither, they were ready to sail, and went away two or three days before us.

To return therefore to our own voyage; captain Weldon having finished his business at Malacca, we sailed again, and steered towards Achin, where he designed to touch in his way to Fort St. George. We overtook Mr. Wells about thirty five leagues short of Achin, opposite the river Passenge Jonca; and shortly after we both arrived at Achin, and anchored in the road, about the beginning of March, 1689. Here I took my leave of captain Weldon, and my friend Mr. Hall, who went with us to Tonquin, and went ashore, being very weak with my flux, as I had been all the voyage. Captain Weldon offered me any kindness that lay in his power at Fort St. George, if I would go with him thither; but I chose rather to stay here, having some small acquaintance, than to go in that weak condition, to a place where I was wholly unknown. But Mr. Hall went with captain Weldon to Fort St. George, and from thence in a short time returned to England, in the Williamfon, of London.

C H A P. XXXII.

The county of Achin described, its natural and political state, customs, trade, civil war, &c.

BEING now arrived at Achin again, I think it not amiss to give the reader some short account of what observations I made of that city and country. This kingdom is the largest and best peopled of many small ones in the isle of Sumatra, and makes the north west end of that island. It reaches eastward from the N. W. point of the island, a great way along the shore, towards the streights of Malacca, for about fifty or sixty leagues. But from Diamond point, which is about forty leagues from Achin, towards the borders of the kingdom, the inhabitants, though belonging to Achin, are less in subjection to it. Of these I can say but little; neither do I know the bounds of this kingdom, either within land, or along the west coast. That west side of the kingdom, is high and mountainous; as is generally the rest of the west coast of the whole island. The point also of Achin, or extremity of the island, is high land; but Achin itself, and the country the eastward is lower, not altogether destitute of small hills, and every where of a moderate height, and a champaign country, naturally very fit for cultivation.

There is one hill more remarkable than ordinary, especially to seamen. The English call it the Golden Mount, but whether this name is given it by the natives, or only by the English, I know not. 'Tis near the N. W. end of the island, and Achin stands but five or six miles from the bottom of it. 'Tis very large at the foot, and runs up smaller towards the head; which is raised so high, as to be seen at sea 30 or 40 leagues. This was the first land that

that we saw coming in our proe from the Nicobar islands, mentioned in my former voyage. The rest of the land, though of a good height, was then undiscerned by us, so that this mountain appeared like an island in the sea, which was the reason why our Achin Malayans took it for Pulo Way. But that island though pretty high champaign land, was invisible, when this Golden Mount appeared so plain, though as far distant as that island.

Besides what belongs to Achin upon the continent, there are also several islands under its jurisdiction, most of them uninhabited; and these make the road of Achin. Among them is this Pulo Way, which is the eastermost of a range of islands, that lie of the N. W. end of Sumatra. It is also the largest of them, and inhabited by malefactors, who are banished thither from Achin. This, with the other islands of this range, lie in a semicircular form, of about seven leagues diameter, Pulo Gomez is another large island about twenty miles west from Pulo Way, and about three leagues from the north west point of Sumatra. Between Pulo Gomez, and the main are three or four other small islands, yet with channels of a sufficient breadth between them, for ships to pass through, as they have very deep water. All ships bound from Achin to the westward, or coming from thence to Achin, go in and out thro' one or other of these channels; and because shipping comes hither from the coast of Surrat, one of these channels, which is deeper than the rest, is called the Surrat channel. Between Pulo Gomez and Pulo Way, in the bending of the circle, there are other small islands, the chief of which is called Pulo Rondo. This is a small round high island, not above two or three miles in circumference. It lies almost in the extremity of the bending on the north east part of the circle, but nearer Pulo Way

than Pulo Gomez. There are large deep channels on either side, but the most frequented is the channel on the west side, which is called the Bengal channel, because it looks towards that bay; and ships coming from thence, from the coast of Coromandel, pass in and out this way. Between Pulo Way and the main of Sumatra is another channel of three or four leagues wide, which the channel for ships, that go from Achin to the streights of Malacca, or any country the east of these streights, and vice versa. There is good riding in all this semicircular bay between the islands and Sumatra; but the road for all ships that come to Achin is near the Sumatra shore, within all the islands. There they anchor at what distances they please, according to the monsoons or seasons of the year. There is a small navigable river comes out into the sea, by which ships transport their commodities in smaller vessels up to the city. The mouth of this river is six or seven leagues from Pulo Rondo, and three or four from Pulo Way, and near as many from Pulo Gomez. The islands are pretty high champaign land, the mould black or yellow, the soil deep and fat, producing large tall trees, fit for any uses. There are brooks of water on the two great islands of Way and Gomez, and several sorts of wild animals; especially wild hogs in abundance.

The mold of this continent is different according to the natural position of it. The mountains are rocky, especially those towards the west coast; yet most that I have seen seems to have a superficial covering on earth, naturally producing shrubs, small trees, or pretty good grass. The small hills are most of them covered with woods, the trees whereof seem by their growth to spring from a fruitful soil, the champaign land, such as I have seen, is
some

some black, some grey, some reddish, and all of a deep mould. But to be very particular in these things, especially in all my travels, is more than I can pretend to; though it may be I took as much notice of the difference of soil as I met with it, as most travellers have done, having been bred in my youth in Somersetshire, at a place called East Coker near Yeovil or Evil; in which parish there is as great variety of soil, as I have ordinarily met with any where, viz. black, red, yellow, sandy, stony, clay, morafs, or swampy, &c. I had the more reason to take notice of this, because this village in a great measure is let out in small leases for lives of twenty, thirty, forty, or fifty pounds per annum, under Coll. Helliar the lord of the manor, and most, if not all these tenants, had their own land scattering in small pieces, up and down several sorts of land in the parish, so that every one had some piece of every sort of land, his black ground, his sandy, clay, &c. some of twenty, thirty, or forty shillings an acre, for some uses, and other not worth ten groats an acre. My mother being possessed of one of these leases, and having of all these sorts of land, I came acquainted with them all, and knew what each sort would produce, viz. wheat, barley, mallin, rice, beans, pease, oats, vetches, flax, or hemp; in all which I had a more than usual knowledge for one so young; taking a particular delight in observing it: but enough of this matter.

The kingdom of Achin has in general a deep mould; it is very well watered with brooks and small rivers, but none navigable for ships of burthen. This of Achin admits not of any but small vessels. The land is some part very woody, in other places savannah; the trees are of divers sorts, most unknown to me by name. The cotton and
cabbage

cabbage trees grow here, but not in such plenty as in some parts of America. These trees commonly grow here, as indeed usually wherever they grow, in a champaign dry ground, such at least as is not drowned or morassy, for here is some such land as that by the rivers, and there grows mangrove trees, and other trees of that kind. Neither is this kingdom destitute of timber-trees fit for building.

The fruits of this country are plantains, bonanoes, guava's, oranges, limes, jacks, durians, coconuts, pumple noses, pomgranates, mangoes, mangastans, citrons, water melons, musk-melons, pine-apples, &c. of all these sorts of fruits, I think the mangastan is without compare the most delicate. This fruit is in shape much like the pomgranate, but a great deal less. The outside rind or shell is a little thicker than that of the pomgranate, but softer, yet more brittle, and of a dark red. The inside of the shell is of a deep crimson colour. Within this shell the fruit appears in three or four cloves, about the bigness of the top of a man's thumb. These will easily separate each from the other; they are as white as milk, very soft, and juicy, inclosing a small black stone or kernel. The outside rind is said to be binding, and therefore many when they eat the fruit, which is very delicious, do save the rind or shell, drying and preserving it, to give to such as have fluxes. In a small book, entitled, *A new Voyage to the East Indies*, there is mention made of mangastans, among the fruits of Java; but the author is mistaken, in that he compares it to a sloe, in shape and taste; yet I remember there is such a sort of fruit at Achin; and believe by the description he gives, it may probably be the same that he calls the mangastan, though nothing like the true mangastan.

The

The pumple nose is a large fruit like a citron, with a very thick tender uneven rind. The inside is full of fruit; it grows all in cloves as big as a small barley-corn, and these are all full of juice, as an orange or a lemon, though not growing in such partitions. 'Tis of a pleasant taste, and though there are of them in other parts of the East Indies, yet these at Achin are accounted the best. They are ripe commonly about Christmas, and are so much esteemed, that Englishmen carry them from hence to Fort St. George, and make presents of them to their friends there. The other fruits mentioned here, are most of them described by me in my first volume.

The eatable roots of this country are yams and potatoes, &c. but their chief bread kind is rice. The natives have lately planted some quantities of this grain, and might produce much more were they so disposed, the land being so fruitful. They have here a sort of herb or plant called a Ganga, or Bang. I never saw any but once, and that was at some distance from me. It appeared to me like hemp, and I thought it had been hemp, till I was told to the contrary. It is reported of this plant, that if it is infused in any liquor, it will stupify the brains of any person who drinks thereof; but it operates diversly, according to the constitution of the person. Some it makes sleepy, some merry, putting them into a laughing fit, and others it makes mad, but after two or three hours they come to themselves again. I never saw the effects of it on any person, but have heard much discourse of it. What other use this plant may serve for I know not; but I know it is much esteemed here, and in other places to whither it is transported.

This country abounds also with medicinal drugs and herbs, and with variety of herbs for the pot.

The

The chief of their drugs is camphire, of which there are quantities found on this island, but most of it on the borders of this kingdom to the southward, or more remote still, without the precincts of it. This that is found on the island Sumatra is commonly sent to Japan to be refined, and then brought from thence pure, and transported whither the merchants please afterwards. I know that here are several sorts of medicinal herbs made use of by the natives, who go often a simpling, seeming to understand their virtues much, and make great use of them: but as this is wholly out of my sphere, I can give no account of them, and tho' here are plenty of pot herbs, yet I know the names of none but onions, of which they have great abundance, and of a very good sort, but small.

There are many other very profitable commodities on this island; but some of them are more peculiar to other parts of it than Achin, especially pepper. All the island abounds with that spice, except only this north west end; at least so much of it, as is comprehended within the kingdom of Achin. Whether this defect is through the negligence or laziness of these people, I know not.

Gold also is found, by report, in many parts of this island; but the kingdom of Achin is at present most plentifully stored with it. Neither does any place in the East Indies, that I know of, yield such quantities of it as this kingdom. I have never been at Japan, and therefore can make no estimate of the great riches of that kingdom; but here I am certain there is abundance of it.

The land animals of this country are deer, hogs, elephants, goats, bullocks, buffaloes, horses, porcupines, monkeys, squirrels, guanoes, lizards, snakes, &c. Here are also abundance of ants of several sorts, and wood-lice, called by the English,
in

in the East Indies, white ants. The elephants that I saw here were all tame; yet 'tis reported there are some wild, but I judge not many, if any at all. In some places there are plenty of hogs; they are all wild, and commonly very poor. At some times of the year, when the wild fruits fall from the trees, they are indifferently fat, or at least fleshy, and then they are sweet and good: they are very numerous, and whether for that reason, or scarcity of food, it is very rare to find them fat. The goats are not very many, neither are there many bullocks, but the savannahs swarm with buffaloes, belonging to some or other of the inhabitants, who milk and eat them, but don't work them, so far as I saw. The horses of this country are but small, yet sprightly; and sometimes they are transported hence to the coast of Coromandel. The porcupines and squirrels are accounted good food by the English; but how they are esteemed by the natives I know not.

The fowls of this country are dunghill fowls and ducks, but I know of no other tame fowls they have. In the woods there are many sorts of wild fowls, viz. maccaws, parrots, parakites, pigeons, and doves of three or four sorts. There are plenty of other small birds, but I can say nothing of them.

The rivers of this country afford plenty of fish. The sea also supplies divers sorts of very good fish, viz. snooks, mullets, mudfish, eels, stringrays, which I have described in the bay of Campeachy, ten-pounders, old wives, cavallies, crawfish, shrimps, &c.

The natives of this country are Malaysans. They are much the same people with those of Queda, Jihore, and other places on the continent of Malacca, speaking the same Malayan language, with little difference; and are of the same Mahometan religion,

religion, and alike in their haughty humour and manner of living; so that they seem to have been originally the same people. They are of a middle stature, straight and well shaped, and of a dark Indian copper colour. Their hair is black and lank, their faces generally pretty long, yet graceful enough. They have black eyes, middling noses, thin lips, and black teeth, by the frequent use of betel. They are very lazy, and care not to work or take pains. The poorer sort are addicted to theft, and are often punished severely for it. They are otherwise good natured in general, and kind to strangers.

The better sort of them wear caps fitted to their heads, of red or other coloured woollen cloth, like the crown of a hat without any brims; for none of the Eastern people use the compliment of uncovering their heads when they meet, as we do. But the common wear for all sorts of people is a small turban, such as the Mindanaians wear, described in the 19th chapter, vol. 2. p. 5. They have small breeches, and the better sort will have a piece of silk thrown loosely over their shoulders; but the poor go naked from their waist upwards. Neither have they the use of stockings and shoes, but a sort of sandals are worn by the better sort.

Their houses are built on posts, as those of Mindanao, and they live much after the same fashion; but by reason of their gold mines, and the frequent resort of strangers, they are richer, and live in greater plenty. Their common food is rice, and the better sort have fowls and fish, with which the markets are plentifully stored, and sometimes buffaloes flesh, all which is dress'd very favourily with pepper and garlick, and tingured yellow with turmeric, to make it pleasant to the eye, as the East Indians generally love to have their food look yellow;

low; neither do they want good achars or fauces to give it a relish.

The city of Achin is the chief in all this kingdom. It is seated on the banks of a river, near the north west end of the island, and about two miles from the sea. This town consists of seven or eight thousand houses; and in it there are always a great number of merchant-strangers, viz. English, Dutch, Danes, Portuguese, Chinese, Guzarats, &c. The houses of this city are generally larger than those I saw at Mindanao, and better furnished with household goods. The city has no walls, nor so much as a ditch about it. It has a great number of mosques, generally square built, and covered with pantile, but neither high nor large. Every morning a man made a great noise from thence; but I saw no turrets or steeples, for them to climb up into for that purpose, as they have generally in Turkey. The queen has a large palace here, built handsomely with stone; but I could not get into the inside of it. 'Tis said there are some great guns about it, four of which are of brass, and are said to have been sent hither as a present by our K. James the first.

The chief trades at Achin are carpenters, blacksmiths, goldsmiths, fishermen, and money-changers; but the country people live either on breeding of cattle, but most for their own use, or fowls, especially they who live near the city, which they send weekly thither to sell: others plant roots, fruits, &c. and of late they have sown pretty large fields of rice. This thrives here well enough; but they are so proud, that it is against their stomach to work, neither do they much trouble their heads about it, but leave it to be managed by their slaves: the slaves brought lately by the English and Danes from the coast of Coromandel, in the time of a famine,

mine, I spoke of before, were the first who brought this sort of husbandry into such repute among the Achinese. Yet neither does the rice they have this way supply one quarter of their occasions, but they have it brought to them from their neighbouring countries.

The fishermen are the richest working people; I mean such of them as can purchase a net, for thereby they have much profit; and this sort of employment is managed also by their slaves. In fair weather you shall have eight or ten boats, each with a sain or haling net; and when they see a shoal of fish, they strive to encompass them with their nets, and all the boats that are near, assist each other to hail them ashore. Sometimes they draw ashore this way fifty, sixty, or an hundred large fish, as large a man's leg, and as long, and then they rejoice greatly, and scamper about, making a great shout. The fish is presently sent to the market in one of their boats, the rest looking out again for more. Those who fish with hook and line, go out in small proes, with one or two slaves in each proe. These also get good fish of other sorts, which they carry home to their masters.

The carpenters use such hatchets as they have at Mindanao. They build good houses after their fashion; and are also ingenious in building proes, especially of that sort called flying proes, which are built long, deep, narrow, and sharp, with both sides alike, and outlagers on each side, the head and stern like other boats. They carry a great sail, and when the wind blows hard, they send a man or two to sit at the extremity of the windward outlager, to poise the vessel. They build also some vessels of ten or twenty tons burthen, to trade from one place to another; but I think their greatest ingenuity is in building their flying proes, which are
made

made very smooth, kept neat and clean, and will sail very well; for which reason they had that name given them by the English.

There are but few blacksmiths in this town, neither are they very skilful at their trade. The goldsmiths are commonly strangers, yet some of the Achinese themselves know how to work metals, tho' not very well. The money-changers are here as at Tonquin, most women. These sit in the markets and at the corners of the streets, with leaden money called cash, which is a name that is commonly given to small money in all these countries; but the cash here is neither of the same metal, nor value with that at Tonquin, for that is copper and this is lead or block tin, such as will bend about the finger. They have but two sorts of coin of their own; the least sort is this leaden money call'd cash, and 'tis the same with what they call petties at Bantam. Of these fifteen hundred make a mess, which is their other sort of coin, and is a small thin piece of gold, stamp'd with Malayan letters on each side. It is in value fifteen pence English. Sixteen mess make a tale, which here is twenty shillings English, five tale make a bancal, a weight so called; and twenty bancal make a catty, another weight. But their gold coin seldom holds weight, for you shall sometimes have five tale and eight mess over to make a pecul, and tho' fifteen cash is the value of a mess, yet these rise and fall at the discretion of the money-changers; for sometimes you shall have one thousand cash for a mess; but they are kept usually between those two numbers; seldom less than one thousand, and never more than fifteen hundred. But to proceed with these weights, which they use either for money or goods. One hundred catty make a pecul, which is 132 l. English weight. Three hundred catty is a bahar, which is 396 l.

English weight; but in some places, as at Bentouli, a bahar is near 500 English weight. Spanish pieces of eight go here also, and they are valued according to the plenty or scarcity of them. Sometimes a piece of eight goes but for four messs, sometimes four messs and a half and sometimes five messs.

They coin but a small quantity of their gold; so much as may serve for their ordinary occasions in their traffick one with another. But as the merchant, when he receives large sums, always takes it by weight, so they usually pay him unwrought gold, and quantity for quantity: the merchants chuse rather to receive this, than the coined gold; and before their leaving the country, will change their messes for uncoined gold, perhaps, because of some deceits used by the natives in their coining.

This gold they have from some mountain a pretty way within land from Achin, but within their dominions, and rather near to the west coast than the streights of Malacca. I take Golden Mount, which I spoke of before, to lie at no great distance from that of the mines; for there is very high land all thereabouts. To go thither they set out eastwards, towards Passange Jonca, and thence strike up into the heart of the country. I made some inquiry concerning their getting gold, and was told, that none but Mahometans were permitted to go to the mines; that it was both troublesome and dangerous to pass the mountains, before they came thither; there being but one way, and that over such steep mountains, that in some places they were forced to make use of ropes, to climb up and down the hills. That at the foot of these precipices there was a guard of soldiers, to see that no uncircumcised person should pursue that design, and also to receive custom of those that went either forward

ward or backward. That at the mines it was so sickly, that not the half of those that went thither did ever return again; though they went thither only to traffic with the miners, who live there, being seasoned; that these who go thither from the city stayed not usually above four months at the mines, and were back again in about six months from their going out. That some there made it their constant employment to visit the miners once every year; for after they are once seasoned, and have found the profit of that trade, no thoughts of danger can deter them from it; for I was credibly told that these made two thousand per cent. of whatever they carried with them, to sell to the miners; but they could not carry much by reason of the badness of the ways. The rich men never go thither themselves but send their slaves; and if three out of six return, they think they make a very profitable journey for their master, for these three are able to bring home as much gold as the goods which all six carried out could purchase. The goods that they carry thither are some sort of cloathing, and liquor. They carry their goods from the city by sea part of the way; then they land somewhere about Passange-Jonca, and get horses to carry their cargo to the foot of the mountains. There they draw it up with ropes, and if they have much goods, one stays here with them, while the rest march to the mines with their load; and return again for the rest. I had this relation from captain Tiler, who lived at Achin, and spoke the language of the country very well. There was an English renegado that used that trade, but was always at the mines when I was here. At his return to Achin he constantly frequented an English punch-house, spending his gold very freely, as I was told by the master of the house. I was told also by all that I

discourfed with about the gold, that here they dig it out of the ground, and that fometimes they find pretty large lumps.

It is the product of thefe mines that draws fo many merchants hither, for the road is feldom without ten or fifteen fail of fhips of feveral nations. Thefe bring all fort of vendible commodities, as filks, chints, muflins, calicoes, rice, &c. and as to this laft, a man would admire to fee what great quantities of rice are brought hither by the Englifh, Dutch, Danes, and Chinefe, when any arrives the commanders hire each a houfe to put their goods in. The filks, muflins, calicoes, opium, and fuch like rich goods, they fell to the Guzurats, who are the chief men that keep fhop here; but the rice, which is the bulk of the cargo, they ufually retail. I have heard a merchant fay, he has received fixty, feventy, and eighty pounds a day for rice, when it has been fcarce; but when there are many fellers, then forty or fifty fhillings worth in a day is a good fale; for then a mefs will buy fourteen or fifteen bamboes of it; whereas when rice is fcarce, you will not have above three or four bamboes for a mefs. A bamboe is a finall fealed meafure, containing to the beft of my remembrance, not much above half a gallon. Thus it riles and falls as fhips come hither. Thofe who fell rice keep one constantly attending to meafure it out, and the very grandees themfelves never keep a ftock before hand, but depend on the market, and buy juft when they have occafion. They fend their flaves for what they want, and the poorer fort, who have not a flave of their own, will yet hire one to carry a mefs worth of rice for them, though not one hundred paces from their own homes, fcorning to do it themfelves. Befides one to meafure the rice, the merchants hire a man to take the money, for here

is some false money, as silver and copper mests gilt over; besides, here are some true mests much worn, and therefore not worth near their value in tale. The merchants may also have occasion to receive ten or twenty pounds at a time for other commodities, and this too, besides those little sums for rice, he must receive by his broker, if he will not be cheated, for its work enough to examine every piece; and in receiving ten pounds in mests they will ordinarily be forced to return half or more to be changed; for the natives are for putting off bad money, if possibly they can. But if the broker takes any bad money, 'tis to his own loss. These sort of brokers are commonly Guzurats, and it is very necessary for a merchant that comes hither, especially if he is a stranger, to have one of them, for fear of taking bad or light money.

The English merchants are very welcome here, and I have heard that they do not pay so much custom as other nations. The Dutch freemen may trade hither, but the company's servants are denied that privilege. But of all the merchants that trade to this city, the Chinese are the most remarkable. There are some of them live here all the year long, but others only make annual voyages hither from China. These latter come hither some time in June, about ten or twelve sail, and bring abundance of rice, and several other commodities. They take up houses all by one another, at the end of the town, next the sea; and that end of the city is called the China camp, because there they always quarter, and bring their goods ashore to sell. In this fleet come several mechanics, viz. carpenters, joiners, painters, &c. these set themselves immediately to work, making of chests, drawers, cabinets, and all sorts of Chinese toys; which are no sooner finished in their working houses, but they

are presently set up in shops and at the doors to sell. So that for two months or ten weeks this place is like a fair, full of shops stuffed with all sorts of vendible commodities, and people resorting hither to buy; and as their goods sell off, so they contract themselves, into less compass, and make use of fewer houses. But as their business decreases, their gaming among themselves increases; for a Chinese, if he is not at work, had as lieve be without victuals as without gaming; and they are very dexterous at it. If before their goods are all sold, they can light of chapmen to buy their ships, they will gladly sell them also, at least some of them; if any merchant will buy, for a Chinese is for selling every thing; and they who are so happy as to get chapmen for their own ships, will return as passengers with their neighbours, leaving their camp, as it is called, poor and naked like other parts of the city, till the next year. They commonly go away about the latter end of September, and never fail to return again at the season; and while they are here, they are so much followed, that there is but little business stirring for the merchants of any other nations; all the discourse then being of going down to the China camp. Even the Europeans go thither for their diversion, the English, Dutch, and Danes, will go to drink their hoc-ciu, at some China merchants house who sells it; for they have no tippling houses. The European seamen return thence into the city drunk enough, but the Chinese are very sober themselves.

The Achinese seem not to be extraordinary good at accounts, as the Banians or Guzurats are. They instruct their youth in the knowledge of letters, Malayan principally, and I suppose in somewhat of Arabick, being all Mahometans. They are here, as at Mindanao, very superstitious in washing and
cleansing

cleansing themselves from defilements; and for that reason they delight to live near the rivers or streams of water. The river of Achin near the city is always full of people of both sexes and all ages. Some come in purposely to wash themselves, for the pleasure of being in the water; which they so much delight in, that they can scarce leave the river without going first into it, if they have any business brings them near. Even the sick are brought to the river to wash. I know not whether it is accounted good to wash in all distempers, but I am certain from my own experience, it is good for those that have the flux, especially mornings and evenings, for which reason you shall then see the rivers fullest, and more especially in the morning. But the most do it upon a religious account; for therein consists the chief part of their religion.

There are but few of them resort daily to their mosques, yet they are all stiff in their religion, and so zealous, that they rejoice greatly in making a proselite. I was told, that while I was at Tonquin, a Chinese inhabiting here turn'd from his Paganism to Mahometanism, and being circumcised, he was thereupon carried in great state thro' the city on an elephant, with one crying before him that he was turned believer. This man was call'd the captain of the China camp; for as I was informed, he was placed there by his countrymen as their chief factor or agent, to negotiate their affairs with the people of the country. Whether he dealt falsely, or was only envied by others, I know not; but his countrymen had so entangled him in law, that he had been ruined, if he had not made use of this way to disengage himself; and then his religion protected him, and they could not meddle with him. On what score the two English renegadoes turn'd here, I know not.

The laws of this country are very strict, and offenders are punished with great severity. Neither are there any delays of Justice here; for as soon as the offender is taken, he is immediately brought before the magistrate, who presently hears the matter, and according as he finds it, so he either acquits or orders punishment to be inflicted on the party immediately. Small offenders are only whipt on the back, which sort of punishment they call *chaubuck*. A thief, for his first offence, has his right hand chop'd off at the wrist; for the second offence off goes the other; and sometimes instead of one of their hands, one or both their feet are cut off; and sometimes, tho' very rarely, both hands and feet. If after the loss of one or both hands or feet they still prove incorrigible for they are many of them such very rogues and so arch, that they will steal with their toes, then they are banished to *Pulo Way*, during their lives; and if they get thence to the city, as sometimes they do, they are commonly sent back again, tho' sometimes they get a licence to stay.

On *Pulo Way* there are none but this sort of cattle; and tho' all of them want one or both hands, yet they so order matters, that they can row very well, and do many things to admiration, whereby they are able to get a livelihood; for if they have no hands, they will get somebody or other to fasten ropes or withes about their oars, so as to leave loops wherein they may put the stumps of their arms, and wherewith they will pull an oar lustily. They that have one hand can do well enough; and of these you shall see a great many, even in the city. This sort of punishment is inflicted for great robberies, but for small pilfering, the first time thieves are only whipt; but after this, a petty larceny is look'd on as a great crime. Neither is this
 sort

fort of punishment peculiar to the Achinese government, but probably, used by the other princes of this island, and on the island Java also, especially at Bantam. They formerly, when the king of Bantam was in his prosperity, depriv'd men of their right hand for theft, and may still for ought I know. I knew a Dutchman so served; he was a seaman belonging to one of the king of Bantam's ships. Being thus punished, he was dismiss'd from his service, and when I was this time at Achin he lived there. Here at Achin, when a member is thus cut off, they have a broad piece of leather or bladder ready to clap on the wound. This is presently applied, and bound on so fast, that the blood cannot issue forth. By this means the great flux of blood is stop'd, which would else ensue; and I never heard of any one who died of it. How long this leather is kept on the wound I know not; but it is so long, till the blood is perfectly stanch'd, and when it is taken off, the clods of blood which were prest in the wound by the leather, peel all off with it, leaving the wound clean. Then, I judge they use cleansing or hailing plaisters, as they see convenient, and cure the wound with a great deal of ease.

I never heard of any that suffer'd death for theft. Criminals, who deserve death, are executed divers ways, according to the nature of the offence, or the quality of the offender. One way is by impaling on a sharp stake, which passeth upright from the fundament through the bowels, and comes out at the neck. The stake is about the bigness of a man's thigh, placed upright, one end in the ground very firm; the upper sharp end is about twelve or fourteen feet high. I saw one man spitted in this manner, and there he remained two or three days; but I could not learn his offence.

Noblemen

Noblemen have a more honourable death ; they are allowed to fight for their lives ; but the numbers of those with whom they are to engage, soon put a period to the combat, by the death of the malefactor. The manner of it is thus ; the person condemned is brought bound to the place of execution. This is a large plain field, spacious enough to contain thousands of people. Thither the Achinese, armed, as they usually go, with their cresset, but then more especially, resort in troops, as well to be spectators, as actors in the tragedy. These make a very large ring, and in the midst of the multitude the criminal is placed, and by him such arms as are allow'd on such occasions, which are a sword, a cresset, and a lance. When the time is come to act, he is unbound, and left at his liberty to take up his fighting weapons. The spectators being all ready, with each man his arms in his hand, stand still in their places, till the malefactor advances. He commonly sets out with a shriek, and daringly faces the multitude ; but he is soon brought to the ground, first by lances thrown at him, and afterwards by their swords and cressets. One was thus executed while I was there ; I had not the fortune to hear of it till it was ended ; but had this relation the same evening it was done, from Mr. Dennis Driscall, who was one of the spectators.

This country is governed by a queen, under whom there are twelve oronkeys, or great lords. These act in their several precincts with great power and authority. Under these there are other inferior officers, to keep the peace in the several parts of the queen's dominions. The present shabander of Achin is one of the oronkeys. He is a man of greater knowledge than the rest, and is supposed to be very rich. I have heard say he has not less than one thousand slaves, some of whom were great merchants, and

and had many slaves under them. And even these, tho' they are slaves to slaves; yet have their slaves also; neither can a stranger easily know who is a slave and who not among them; for they are all, in a manner, slaves to one another; and all in general to the queen and oronkeys, for their government is very arbitrary. Yet there is nothing of rigour used by the master to his slave, except it be the very meanest, such as do all sorts of servile work; but those who can turn their hands to any thing besides drudgery, live well enough by their industry. Nay, they are encouraged by their masters, who often lend them money to begin some trade or business with, whereby the servant lives easy, and with great content follows what his inclination or capacity fits him for, and the master also, who has his share in the gains, reaps the more profit, yet without trouble. When one of these slaves die, his master is heir to what he leaves, and his children, if he has any, become his slaves also, unless the father out of his own clear gains, has in his life time had wherewithal to purchase their freedom. The markets are kept by these people, and you scarce trade with any other. The money-changers also are slaves, and in general all the women that you see in the streets, not one of them being free. So are the fishermen, and others, who fetch fire wood in canoes from Pulo Gomez, for thence those of this city fetch most of their wood, tho' there is scarce any thing to be seen but woods about the city. Yet tho' all these are slaves, they have habitations or houses to themselves in several parts of the city, far from their masters houses, as if they were free people. But to return to the shabander I was speaking of, all merchant strangers, at their first arrival, make their entries with him, which is always done with a good present; and from him they take all
their

their dispatches when they depart ; and all matters of importance in general between merchants are determined by him. It seems to have been by his conversation and acquaintance with strangers, that he became so knowing, beyond the rest of the great men ; and he is also said to be himself a great merchant.

The queen of Achin, as 'tis said, is always an old maid, chosen out of the royal family. What ceremonies are used at the choosing her I know not, nor who are the electors, but I suppose they are the oronkeys. After she is chosen, she in a manner confined to her palace ; for by report, she seldom goes abroad, neither is she seen by any people of inferior rank and quality, but only by some of her domesticks ; except that once a year she is dressed all in white, and placed on an elephant, and so rides to the river in state to wash herself ; but whether any of the meaner sort of people may see her in that progress I know not ; for it is the custom of most Eastern princes to screen themselves from the sight of their subjects ; or, if they sometimes go abroad for their pleasure, yet the people are then ordered either to turn their backs towards them while they pass by, as formerly at Bantam, or to hold their hands before their eyes, as at Siam. At Mindanao, they may look on their princes ; but from the highest to the lowest they approach him with the greatest respect and veneration, creeping very low, and oft-times on their knees, with their eyes fix'd on him ; and when they withdraw, they return in the same manner, creeping backwards and still keeping their eyes on him, till they are out of his sight.

But to return to the Queen of Achin, I think Mr. Hackluit, or Purchas, makes mention of a king here in our king James the first's time ; but
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of later years there has always been a queen only, and the English who reside there, have been of the opinion that these people have been governed by a queen ab origine; and from the antiquity of the present constitution, have formed notions, that the queen of Sheba who came to Solomon was the queen of this country; and the author of an old map of the world which I have seen, was, it seems of this opinion, when writing the old Hebrew names of nations, up and down the several parts antiently known of Europe, Asia, and Africa, he puts no other name in the isle of Sumatra, but that of Sheba. But be that as it will, 'tis at present part of it under a queen, though she has little power or authority; for though there is seemingly abundance of respect and reverence shewn her, yet she has little more than the title of a sovereign, all the government being wholly in the hands of the Oronkeys.

While I was on my voyage to Tonquin, the old Queen died, and there was another queen chosen in her room, but all the Oronkeys were not for that election, many of them were for chusing a king. Four of the Oronkeys who lived more remote from the court, took up arms to oppose the new queen and the rest of the Oronkeys, and brought five or six thousand men against the city; and thus stood the state of affairs, even when we arrived here, and a good while after. This army was on the east side of the river, and had all the country on that side, and so much of the city also, as is on that side the river, under their power; but the queen's palace and the main part of the city, which stands on the west side, held out stoutly. The river is wider, shallower, and more sandy at the city, than any where else near it; yet not fordable at low water. Therefore for the better communication from one side

side to the other, there are ferry-boats to carry passengers to and fro. In other places the banks are steep, the river more rapid, and in most places very muddy; so that this place, just at the city itself, is the most convenient to transport men or goods from one side to the other.

It was not far from this place the army lay, as if they designed to force their passage here. The queen's party, to oppose them, kept a small guard of soldiers just at the landing-place. The Shabander of Achin had a tent set up there, he being the chief manager of her affairs; and for the more security, he had two or three small brass guns of a minion bore planted by his tent all the day, with their muzzles against the river. In the evening there were two or three great trees drawn by an elephant, and placed by the side of the river, for a barricado against the enemy; and then the brass guns were drawn from the Shabander's tent, which stood not far from it, and planted just behind the trees, on the rising bank; so that they looked over the trees, and they might fire over, or into the river, if the enemy approached. When the barricado was thus made, and the guns planted, the ferry-boats passed no more from side to side, till the next morning. Then you should hear the soldiers calling to each other, not in menacing language, but as those who desired peace and quietness, asking why they would not agree, why they could not be of one mind, and why they should desire to kill one another. This was the tone all the night long, in the morning as soon as sun was risen, the guns were drawn again to the Shabander's tent, and the trees were drawn aside, to open the passage from one side to the other; and every man then went freely about his business, as if all had been as quiet as ever, only the Shabander and his guard staid still
in

in their stations. So that there was not any sign of wars, but in the night only, when all stood to their arms; and then the town's people seemed to be in fear, and sometimes we should have a rumour that the enemy would certainly make an attempt to come over.

While these stirs lasted, the Shabander sent to all the foreigners, and desired them to keep in their own houses in the night, and told them, that whatever might happen in the city by their own civil broils, yet no harm should come to them. Yet some of the Portuguese, fearing the worst, would every night put their richest goods into a boat, ready to take their flight on the first alarm. There were at this time not above two or three English families in the town, and two English ships, and one Dutch ship, besides two or three Moors ships of the Mogul's subjects, in the road. One of the English ships was called the Nellegree; the name taken from Nellegree hills in Bengal, as I have heard; she came from the bay of Bengal, laden with rice, cotton, &c. the other was the Dorothy of London, captain Thwait commander, who came from Port St. George, and was bound to Bencouli with soldiers, but touched here, as well to sell some goods, as to bring a present to the queen from our East India company. Captain Thwait, according to custom went with his present to the queen, which she accepted; and complemented him with the usual civilities of the country, for to honour him he was set upon an elephant of the queen's to ride to his lodgings, dressed in a Malayan habit which she gave him; and she sent also two dancing girls, to shew him some pastime there, and I saw them at his lodgings that evening, dancing the greatest part of the night, much after the same manner as the dancing women of Mindanao, rather writhing their hands

hands and bodies with several antic gestures, than moving much out of the place they were in. He had at this time about twenty great jars of Bengal butter, made of buffaloes milk, and this butter is said also to have lard or hogs fat mixt with it, and rank enough in these hot countries, though much esteemed by all the Achinese, who give a good price for it, and our English also use it. Each of the jars this came in, contained twenty or thirty gallons, and they were set in Mr. Driscal's yard at Achin; what other goods the captain brought I know not.

But not long after this, he being informed, that the Moors merchants residing here had carried off a great treasure on board their ships, in order to return with it to Surrat, and our company having now wars with the Great Mogul, captain Thwait in the evening drew off all his seamen, and seized on one of the Moor's ships, where he thought the treasure was. The biggest he let alone; she was a ship that one captain Constant took in the road some time before, and having plundered her, he gave her to the queen, of whom the Moors bought her again. The Moors merchants had speedy notice of this action of captain Thwait, and they presently made their application to the queen for satisfaction. But her affairs at this time being in such a posture as I mentioned, by reason of their intestine broils, she said she could do nothing for them.

It was eleven or twelve o'clock the next day, before we who lived ashore heard of captain Thwait's proceedings; but seeing the Moors flock to court, and not knowing what answer they had from the queen, we posted off to the ships, for fear of being imprisoned, as some Englishmen had been while I was at Tonquin, on the like score. Indeed I had at this time great cause to be afraid of a prison, being

ing sick of a flux; so that a prison would have gone near to have killed me; yet I think it fared not much better with me, for the ships I fled to afforded me but little comfort; for I knew not a man on board the Dorothy, and could expect no comfort there. So I and the rest went on board the Nelligree, where we could more reasonably expect relief, than in a ship that came from England; for these which come so long a voyage, are just victualled for the service, and the seamen have every one their stinted allowance, out of which they have little enough to spare to strangers.

But tho' there were victuals enough on board the Nelligree, yet so weak as I then was, I had more mind to rest myself than to eat; and the ship was so pestered with goods, that I could not find a place to hang up my hammock in. Therefore it being fair weather, I made a shift to lie in the boat that I came on board in. My flux was violent, and I slept but little; so I had the opportunity of observing the moon totally eclipsed, had I been in a condition to observe any thing. As soon as I perceived the moon to be eclipsed, I gazed at it indeed as I lay, till it was totally obscured, which was a pretty while; but I was so little curious, that I remembered not so much as what day of the month it was, and I kept no journal of this voyage, as I did of my other, only kept an account of several particular remarks and observations as they occurred to me. I lay three or four days thus in this boat, and the people of the ship were so kind as to provide me with necessaries; and by this time the Moors had got a pass from the Dutch captain then in the road, for four or five hundred dollars, as I was then told, and captain Thwait delivered them their ship again; but what terms he made with them, I know not.

Thus that fray was over, and we came ashore again, recovered of the fright we had been in. In a short time also after this, the Achinese all agreed to own the new queen, and so the war ended without any bloodshed.

I was persuaded to wash in the river, mornings and evenings, for the recovery of my health; and though it seemed strange to me before I tried it, yet I found so much comfort in the first trial, that I constantly applied myself to it. I went into the river, till the water was as high as my waste, and then I stooped down and found the water so cool and refreshing to my body, that I was always loth to go out again. Then I was sensible that my bowels were very hot, for I found a great heat within me, which I found refreshed by the cool water. My food was salt-fish broiled, and boiled rice mixed with tire. Tire is sold about the streets there, it is thick sower milk. It is very cooling, and the salt-fish and rice is binding, therefore this is thought there the proper food for the common people, when they have fluxes. But the richer sort will have sago, which is brought to Achin from other countries, and milk of almonds.

But to return to the state of Achin, before I go off from it I shall add this short account of the seasons of the year there, that their weather is much the same as in other countries north of the line, and their dry seasons, rains, and land floods come much at the same time as at Tonquin, and other places of north latitude. Only as Achin lies within a few degrees of the line, so upon the sun's crossing the line in March, the rains begin a little sooner there than in countries nearer the tropick of Cancer; and when they are once set in, they are as violent there as any where. I have seen it rain there for two or three days without intermission, and the river running

ning but a short course, its head not lying very far within land, it soon overflows, and a great part of the street of the city, shall on a sudden be all under water, at which time people row up and down the streets in canoes. That side of the city, towards the river especially, where the foreign merchants live, and which is lower ground, is frequently under water in the wet season; a ship's long-boat has come up to the very gate of our English factory laden with goods, which at other times is ground dry enough, at a good distance from the river, and moderately raised above it. I did not find the heat there any thing different from other places in that latitude, though I was there both in the wet and dry season. 'Tis more supportable than at Tonquin, and they have constantly the refreshment of sea and land breezes every twenty-four hours.

C H A P. XXXIII.

His return to, and description of, Malacca.

AS soon as I was pretty well recovered, I was ship'd mate of the sloop that came from Malacca with us, which Mr. Wells had sold to captain Tyler, who lately come from Siam, and was sent on board to take possession of her, about the beginning of May, 1689. He who was designed to command her came to Achin mate of the Nellegree; and we were now to go to Pegu; but before the middle of June he left the employ, being sick, and loth to go at this dead time of the year to Pegu, because the western wind was set in strong, and the coast of Pegu is low land, and we were both unacquainted on the coast. I was then made commander, and took in goods in order to depart for that coast. In the mean time Mr. Coventry arrived in his ship from the coast of Coromandel laden with rice, and a small vessel belonging to cap-

tain Tyler came also from Merga, much about the same time.

This last ship had been at Merga a considerable time, having been seized on by the Siamese, and all the men imprisoned, for some difference that happened between the English and them. Neither was a prison then thought hard usage by them, for during the havock that was made of the English, many of those who lived at Merga were massacred. Those who were imprisoned were kept there till all the English who lived at the city of Siam, on the other side of the kingdom, withdrew from thence; and then these men had their liberty restored also, and their ship given them, but no goods, nor satisfaction for their losses, nor so much as a compass to bring with them, and but little provision, yet here they safely arrived. This being a better ship than that I was gone on board of, captain Tyler immediately fitted her up for the sea, in order to send her to Pegu.

By this time my vessel was laden, and my cargo was eleven thousand cocoa-nuts, five or six hundred weight of sugar, and half a dozen chests of drawers of Japan work; two were very large, designed for a present to the king. Besides this, captain Tyler, for so we used to call him, tho' he was only a merchant, said he intended to send a good quantity of gold thither, by which he expected to gain sixty or seventy per cent; for by report the king of Pegu had lately built a very magnificent pagoda, and was gilding it very richly with gold; besides he was making a large image of massy gold for the chief pagod of this temple. By this means gold was risen in its value here; and Achin being a place abounding in that metal, much of it had already been sent thither from thence, and more was going in other vessels, belonging to the Moors of Achin,

Achin, besides what captain Tyler designed to send.

It was now about the middle of August; and tho' I was ready to sail, yet I was ordered to stay for captain Tyler's other vessel, till she had taken in her lading, which was daily sent off. Her cargo also was cocoa-nuts, and she had about eight or nine thousand already on board; when I received an order from captain Tyler to hale aboard of her, and put all my cargo into her; as also all my water casks, and whatever else I could spare that they wanted; but withal he desired me to be satisfied, and told me I should in a short time be sent to sea, but that ship being the largest, he thought it more convenient to dispatch her first. I presently did as I was ordered, and finding that I should not go this voyage, I sold also my small cargo, which consisted only of some cocoa-nuts, and about one hundred nutmegs, which had the shells on as they grew on the trees. I bought all that I could meet with in the town, and paid about three pence a piece, and expected to have had twelve pence a piece for them at Pegu, where they are much esteemed if the shells be on, for else they don't value them.

About this time the George, a great English ship belonging to one Mr. Dalton, arrived here from the city of Siam, coming thro' the streights of Malacca. He had been there some years, trading to and fro, and had made very profitable voyages; but the late revolution that happened there by the death of the king, and the unhappy fate of my lord Falcon, caused the English to withdraw from thence. The French were all sent away some months before, being not suffered to stay in the kingdom; but before this ship came from thence, the broils of state were over, for the new king being settled, all tumults, which commonly arise in these countries at the death of the king, were appeased. The English were

then desired to stay there, and those who had yielded up their places and offices, were even entreated to accept them again, for they owned that they had all served the nation faithfully. But a little while before the revolution, the governor of Fort St. George sent for all the English from thence particularly, and from the service of all other Indian princes, to come and serve the East India company at the Fort, or where else they should send them. For that reason they all came away with Mr. Dalton, and he, in kindness to his countrymen, refused to take in goods or freight, because he would have room enough for their passage, and for their household furniture; for here were some families of men, women, and children.

They were a long time in coming from Siam to Achin, because they were against the monsoon; and in their passage they touched at Malacca, and when they arrived at Achin, Mr. Dalton went ashore and hired a house, as did also most of his passengers; and among the rest captain Minchin, who had formerly served the East India company at Surat, but on some disgust left that place and came to Siam. There he was made gunner of a fort, and maintained his wife and family very well in that employ, till the revolution there, and the companies orders came and called him from thence. He being now destitute of employment, the merchants there thought of making him commander of the vessel that I was in, because captain Tyler was minded to sell part of her. Accordingly they met about it, and the vessel was divided into four parts, three of which were purchased by Mr. Dalton, Mr. Coventry, and captain Minchin, and captain Tyler kept the fourth. The next day captain Minchin came off, with an order to me, to deliver him the possession of the ship, and told me, that if I liked
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to go his mate, I might still keep on board till they had agreed on a voyage. I was forced to submit, and accepted a mate's employ under captain Minchin. It was not long before we were ordered for Malacca to buy goods there. We carried no goods with us, besides three or four hundred pounds of opium.

It was about the middle of September, 1689, when we sailed from Achin. We were four white men in the vessel, the captain and Mr. Coventry, who went supercargo, myself and the boatswain. For common seamen we had seven or eight Moors; and generally in these country ships, the white men are all officers. Two days after we left Achin, being becalmed under the shore, we came to an anchor. Not long after, a ship coming in from seaward, came to an anchor about two miles a head of us. Mr. Coventry knew her to be a Danish ship belonging to Trangambar, and therefore we hoisted out our boat, and thought to have spoken with her; but a small breeze springing up, they weighed their anchors, and went away; neither would they speak with us, tho' we made signs for them to stay. We weighed also and jogged on after them, but they sailed better than we. We met little winds and calms, so that 'twas seven or eight days before we got as far as Diamond-point, which is about forty leagues from Achin.

Being about four leagues short of that point, captain Minchin desired me to set the land, and withal prick the card, and see what course we ought to keep all night; for it was now about six o'clock, and we had a fine gale at W. S. W. our course yet being E. S. E.

After I had set the land, I went into the cabin to look over the draught, to see what course we must steer after we came about the point. Mr.

Coventry followed me, and when I had satisfied my self, he asked me what course we must steer. I told him E. S. E. till twelve o'clock, if the gale stood, and then we might hale more southerly. He seemed to be startled at it, and told me, that the captain and he had been pricking the card, and thought that a S. E. or S. E. by S. course would do very well at eight o'clock. I said it was a good course to run ashore; he argued long with me, but I persisted in my opinion, and when I told captain Minchin my opinion, he was well satisfied. Presently after this we had a pretty strong tornado out of the S. W. which obliged us to hand our top-sail. When the stress of the weather was over, we set our sails again, and went in to supper, and ordered the man at the helm not to come to the southward of the E. S. E. We staid in the cabin till about eight o'clock, and then went out to set the watch. It was now very dark, by reason of a thunder cloud that hung rumbling over the land; yet by the flashes of lightning we plainly saw the land, right ahead of us. I was much surprized, and ran into the steerage to look on the compass, and found that we were steering S. S. E. instead of E. S. E. I clapt the helm a starboard, and brought her to N. E. by E. N. E. and we very narrowly escaped being cast away.

When we first went to supper, we were three leagues off land, and then E. S. E. was a good course, the land lying E. S. E. parallel with our course; but then the man at the helm mistaking his compass, steer'd S. S. E. which runs right in upon the shore. I believe we had also some counter current, or tide that help'd us in, for we were quickly got into a bay withing the points of land; so that it was now absolutely necessary to steer northerly to get out of the bay; and by this time Mr. Coventry was satisfied

fied with what I told him in the evening, and was convinced of his error. I undertook to direct the man at the helm, and the wind continuing, I kept off till ten o'clock; then I steered E. S. E. till twelve, and then haled up S. S. E. and in the morning we were about four leagues S. E. from Diamond-point, and about three leagues to the north of an island.

The land from hence lying S. S. E. we steered so, but meeting with calms again, we anchored several times before we came to the river of Dilly, which is twenty-eight leagues from Diamond-point. The land between seems to be uneven, most of it pretty high, and very woody; and it is said that all this country, as far as the river Dilly, is under the queen of Achin.

About a league before we came to that river, being within two miles of the shore, we saw the water of a muddy grey colour, and tasting it, found it to be sweet. Therefore we presently filled some of our water casks; and it is an ordinary thing in several places to take up fresh water at sea, against the mouth of some river, where it floats above the salt-water; but we must dip but a little way down, for sometimes if the bucket goes but a foot deep, it takes up salt water with the fresh.

In the evening we had a fine land-breeze, with which we ran along the shore, keeping on a wind, and sounding every now and then. At last we were got among the shoals, at the mouth of that river, and puzzled to get out again. The river is in lat. 3 d. 50 m. N. It seems to be very large, but it is not very well known, but only to the natives, who inhabit near it; and they are not very sociable, but are, by report, a sort of pirates living on rapin. In the morning we saw a sail standing off to an island called Pulo Verero, lying in lat. 3 d. 30 m. N.
seven

seven leagues from the mouth of the river Dilly. Having a fair wind, we stood after them, intending to wood and water at Pulo Verero. For though we took no fresh water the evening before out of the sea, yet at the river of Dilly it was brackish, for though the fresh water is born up by the salt, and it might be entire without mixture, yet by plunging of the bucket somewhat too low, we might probably take up some of the salt water with it. They came to an anchor, about two or three o'clock in the afternoon, but the wind slackened, and it was eight o'clock at night before came thither. We anchored about a mile from them, and presently hoisted out our boat to go on board, for we judged that this was the Danish ship, we saw when we came first from Achin. I went in the boat, because Mr. Coventry told me, that Mr. Coppenger was surgeon of her, the same person who was with me in the boat when I was set ashore at the Nicobar isles, but was not suffered to stay with me. Mr. Coventry was now in the boat with me, and we went and hailed the ship, asking whence she came? and who was commander? they answered they were Danes from Trangambar, for it was the ship we took it to be. Then they asked who we were? I answered, English from Achin, and that Mr. Coventry was in the boat, but they would not believe it till Mr. Coventry spoke, and the captain knew his voice; neither did they till then believe we were friends; for they had every man his gun in his hand, ready to fire on us, if we had gone on board without haling, as Mr. Coventry would have done, in confidence that they knew him, had not I dissuaded him. For it seems they were extremely afraid of us, insomuch that the commander, seeing us follow them in the morning, would not have touched at these islands, tho' he was in great want of water; and

and had not his black merchants fallen before him on their knees, and even prayed him to take pity on them, they had not anchored here. These merchants were inhabitants of Trangambar on the coast of Coromandel. They having no ships of their own, when the Danes fit out a ship, on any voyage that they are inclined to, these Moors are obliged to join stock with them, and they first make an offer of it to them as a kindness; and the Moors being generally desirous of trade, frequently accept of it almost on any terms; but should they be unwilling, yet dare they not refuse, for fear of disobliging the Danes, who are lords of the place. In this ship I found Mr. Coppinger; and he was the first that I had seen of all the company that left me at the Nicobar islands. The next morning we filled our water and weigh'd again, the Dane being gone a little before. He was bound to Jihore to load pepper, but intended to touch at Malacca, as most ships do that pass these streights. He also sailed better than we, and therefore left us to follow him.

We stood on yet nearest the Sumatra shore, till we came in sight of Pulo Arie, in lat. 3 d. 2 m. N. These are several islands lying S. E. by E. easterly from Pulo Verero, about thirty two leagues distant. These islands are good marks for ships bound thro' the streights; for when they bear S. E. at three or four leagues distance, you may steer away E. by S. for the Malacca shore, from whence you then may be about twenty leagues. The first land you will see is Pulo Parsalore, which is a high peaked hill in the country, on the Malacca coast; which standing by itself amidst a low country, it appears like an island, tho' I know not whether it is really one, for it stands some miles within the shore of the continent of Malacca. It is a very remarkable hill, and
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the only sea mark for seamen to guide themselves through certain sands that lie near the main ; and if it is thick hazy weather, and the hill obscured, pilots, unless they are very knowing in the soundings, will hardly venture in ; for the channel is not above a league wide, and there are large shoals on each side. These shoals lie ten leagues from Pulo Arie, and continue till within two or three of the Malacca shore. In the channel there is twelve or fourteen fathom water, but you may keep in seven or eight fathom on either side ; and sounding all the way, you may pass on without danger.

We had a good gale at west, which brought us in sight of Pulo Parsalore ; and so we kept sounding till we came within the shore, and then we had the town of Malacca about eighteen leagues distant from us, to the S. E. by E. Being shot over to the Malacca shore, there is a good wide channel to sail in, having the shoals on one side, and the land on the other ; to which last you may come as near as you see convenient, for there is water enough, and good anchoring. The tide runs pretty strong here ; the flood sets to the eastward, and the ebb to the west ; and therefore when there is little wind, and ships cannot stem the tide, they commonly anchor. But we being in with the Malacca shore, had a westerly wind, which brought us before Malacca town, about the middle of October ; and here I first heard that king William and queen Mary were crowned king and queen of England. The Dane that left us at Pulo Verero was not yet arrived ; for, as we afterwards understood, they could not find the way through the sands, but were forc'd to keep along without them, and fetch a great compass about, which retarded their passage.

Malacca is a pretty large town, of about two or three hundred families of Dutch and Portuguese,
many

many of which are a mixt breed between those nations. There are also many of the native Malayans inhabiting in small cottages on the skirts of the town. The dutch houses are built with stone, and the streets are wide and straight, but not paved. At the north west of the town, there is a wall and gate to pass in and out, and a small fort always guarded with soldiers. The town stands on a level low ground, close by the sea. The land on the back-side of the town seems to be morassy, and on the west side, without the wall, there are gardens of fruits and herbs, and some fair Dutch houses; but that quarter is chiefly the habitation of the Malayans. On the east side of the town, there is a small river, which at a spring tide will admit small barks to enter. About one hundred paces from the sea there is a draw-bridge, which leads from the midst of the town to a strong fort, built on the east side of the river.

This is the chief fort, and is built on a low level ground, close by the sea, at the foot of a little steep hill. Its form is semicircular, according to the natural position of the adjacent hill. It fronts chiefly to the sea, and having its foundation on firm rocks, the walls are carried up to a good height, and of a considerable thickness. The low parts of it is washed by the sea every tide. On the back of the hill, the land being naturally low, there is a very large moat cut from the sea to the river, which makes the whole an island; and that back part is stockadoed round with great trees, set upon end; so that there is no entering when once the draw-bridge is haled up. On the hill, within the fort, stands a small church, big enough to receive all the towns people, who come hither on Sundays to hear divine service: and on the main, beyond the fort, the Malayans are also seated close by the sea.

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The first Europeans who settled here were the Portuguese. They also built the great fort; but whether they moated round the hill, and made an island of the spot of ground, I know not, nor what expences have been bestowed on it since to make it defenceable, nor what other alterations have been made; but the whole building seems to be pretty ancient, and that part of it which fronts to the sea, was, in all probability, built by the Portuguese; for there are still the marks of the conquerors shot on the walls. It is a place so naturally strong, that I even wonder how they could be beat out: but when I consider what other places they then lost, and their mismanagements, I am the less surprized at it. The Portuguese were the first discoverers by sea of the East Indies, and had thereby the advantage of trade with these rich Eastern people, as also an opportunity thro' their weakness to settle themselves where they pleased. Therefore they made settlements and forts among them in divers places of India, as here for one; and presuming upon the strength of their forts, they insulted over the natives; and being grown rich with trade, they fell to all manner of looseness and debauchery, the usual concomitant of wealth, and as commonly the fore-runner of ruin. The Portuguese at this place, by report, made use of the native women at their pleasure, whether virgins or married women; such as they liked they took without controule: and it is probable, they as little restrained their lust in other places, for the breed of them is scattered all over India; neither are there any people of more different complexions than of that race, even from the coal black to a light tawney. These injuries exasperated the native Malayans here, who joining with the Dutch, as I have been informed, found means to betray to them their insolent matters the

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Portuguese; than whom there are not a more despicable people now in all the Eastern nations; and of all they once possess'd, they have now only Goa left, of any place of consequence. The Dutch are now masters of most of the places they once had possession of, and particularly Malacca.

Malacca is a place of no great trade, yet there are several Moors merchants always residing here. These have shops of wares, such as come from Surat, and the coast of Coromandel and Bengal. The Chinese also are seated here, who bring the commodities of their country hither, especially tea, sugarcandy, and other sweetmeats. Some of them keep tea houses, where for a stiver a man has near a pint of tea, and a little porrenger of sugarcandy, or other sweetmeats, if he pleases. Others of them are butchers; their chief flesh is pork, which you may have very reasonably, either fresh or salted; neither are you desired to take any particular piece, but they will cut a piece at one place, and the like at another, either fat or lean, as you would have it. Others among these Chinese are trades people; and they are all in general very industrious, but withal extraordinary gamesters; and if they can get any to play with them, all business must submit to that.

This town is plentifully stored with fish also. When the fishermen come in, they all resort to a place built purposely for the sale of them. There are soldiers waiting, who take the best for the officers of the fort. Whether they pay for it, or that it is a toll or custom belonging to the governor I know not; but after they are served, the rest are sold to any who will buy. The manner of selling it is thus; the fish which every man brings in is sorted, yet all sold by the lump at once in the manner of an outcry or auction, but not by raising but lowering the price; for there is one appointed for
the

this sale, who sets the first price higher than the value of the fish, and falls by degrees, till the price seems reasonable; then one or other buys. But these first bargains are commonly bought by the fish-wives, who retail them out again. Oysters are in great plenty here, and very good when they are salt, but sometimes they are fresh and unfavoury.

As for other provisions, their rice is brought to them from abroad. Such fruits as they have are much the same as I have already described and are proper to the climate, as plantains, bonanoes, pine-apples, oranges, water-melons, pumplenoses, mango's, &c. but these are but only in their gardens, in no great plenty; and the country is all covered with wood, like one forest, and most of our walking canes used in England, are brought from thence. They have also a few cattle, bullocks, and horses, &c. having but little pasturage, but good store of tame fowl, ducks, and poultry. The principal person in the town is the shabander, a Dutchman, next in power to the governor, who lives in the fort, and meddles not with trade, which is the shabander's province, who seems to be chiefly concerned about the customs of goods.

This town has no great trade, by what I could see, but it seems to be designedly built to command the passage of shipping, going this way to the more eastern nations. Not but that ships may pass far enough out of the reach of their cannon, but guardships belonging to the town, and lying in the road, may hinder others from passing. How the Portuguese managed their affairs I know not; but the Dutch commonly keep a guardship here, and I have been told they require a certain duty of all vessels that pass this way, the English only excepted, for all ships touch at this place, especially for wood, water, and refreshment.

Two days after our arrival here, the Danish ship came also to an anchor; but reporting that they were bound to Jihore, to load pepper, the Dutch told them it was but in vain for them to seek a trade there, for that the King of Jihore had agreed with the Dutch to trade only with them, and that to secure that trade, they had a guardship lying there. I had this account from the surgeon, Mr. Coppinger, who seemed a little concerned at it; because when he told me this, he could not tell whether they should proceed thither or no; but they did go thither, and found all this a sham, and traded there to their own and the natives satisfaction, as he told me the next time I met him. This of Jihore being but a small kingdom on the same Malacca coast, 'tis not of strength sufficient to resist the power of the Dutch; neither could it benefit the Dutch to take it, should they attempt it, for the people would probably forsake it, and it would be too great a charge for the Dutch to settle it themselves. And therefore they only endeavour to ingross the pepper trade, and it is probable enough that the Dutch might sometimes keep a guardship there, as they do at other places, particularly at Queda Pulo Dindin, &c. for where there is any trade to be had, yet not sufficient to maintain a factory, or where there may not be a convenient place to build a fort, so as to secure the whole trade to themselves, they send their guardships, which lying at the mouths of the rivers, deter strangers from coming thither, and keep the petty princes in awe of them. They commonly make a shew as if they did this out of kindness to those people, yet most of them know otherwise, but dare not openly resent it. This probably causes so many petty robberies and piracies as are committed by the Malaysans on this coast. The Malaysans, who inhabit on both

sides the streights of Malacca, are in general a bold people, and yet I do not find any of them addicted to robbery, but only the pilfering poorer sort, and even these are severely punished among the trading Malayans, who love trade and property. But being thus provoked by the Dutch, and hindered of a free trade by their guardships, it is probable they therefore commit piracies themselves, or connive at and encourage those who do. So that the pirates who lurk on this coast, seem to do it as much to revenge themselves on the Dutch, for restraining their trade, as to gain this way what they cannot obtain in the way of traffic.

But to return to our concerns here, I have said already, that we had only three or four hundred pounds of opium in goods, the rest was in Money to the value of two thousand dollars in the whole; but we did not pretend, that we came hither purposely to trade, but that finding our vessel unfit for the sea, we put in here to mend and repair her. Leave was granted us for this; and I prepared to hale our vessel ashore, at the west end of the town, not far from the small fort. It is there soft oozy ground, near a mile off shore, and deepens very leisurely, being shoal water just by the shore, and when the tide goes out, it leaves the ooze dry a quarter of a mile from the shore; but a mile from shore you have clean sand, and about four fathom at low water. Our vessel floated in close to the fort, and lay not twenty yards from it, and at low water it sunk down into the mud; that we could not fit the after-part, as I would have done. Opium, which is much used by the Malayans in some places, was a great commodity here at this time; but it is prohibited goods, and therefore tho' many asked for it, we were shy of having it too openly known that we had any. But in short, Mr. Coventry found a customer,

customer, and they found means to get it ashore, while the soldiers of the fort were at dinner. The customer was a Dutchman, and the price that he was to pay for it was as much as he was worth; and finding it to be nought, he would have been off his bargain; and when Mr. Coventry would not release him, he absconded. But Mr. Coventry having an interest in the shabander, he compellde the man's wife to pay for the opium, under the name of gold, for so Mr. Coventry called it. The shabander chid Mr. Coventry for smuggling with an inferior; when he might have done it better with him; but stood his friend in compelling the woman, tho' unjustly, to pay for the opium. I saw this Dutchman on board his own vessel, when he had bought the opium, and he was very pensive and sad. He had a pretty fine house without the gates, and a garden, which maintained his family with pot-herbs, sallading, and fruits, besides some for the market. This was managed by his wife, and he himself had two sloops, and either employed them, in trading among the Malayans for pepper, carrying them such commodities as they wanted, especially opium, or by hiring himself and sloop to the Dutch East India company, to go whither they would send him. It was not long since he had been at the spice islands with rice, which he sold at a profitable rate; but he told me he was not suffered to bring any spice from thence, except eight or ten pounds for his own spending; neither was there so much profit that way for him, as by trading at home among the Malayans, either on the coast of Malacca or Sumatra. For though he and other freemen are not suffered to trade for themselves to any places where the company have factories, or guardships, yet they could find trade enough nearer home, and by this trade the freemen

of Malacca pick up a good livelihood. It was on this home trade that he was now bound, and the opium had been very beneficial to him, had it been good; but he went away and ordered his wife not to pay for it, but left Mr. Coventry to take it again, and upon the shabander's compelling her to take it and pay for it, she complained they were utterly undone, for the opium, when it came to be examined, was really very bad, and worth little or nothing.

Here Mr. Coventry bought iron bars, arack, canes, and rattans, wherewith we loaded our vessel, which was now set on float again. The Dutch brought most of our goods on board, and were more kind than I expected, for they had not used to trade with us, and I believe the news of our revolution in England had sweetned them, for they often drank the konings health with us very heartily. While we were here we made two new cables of rattans, each of them four inches about. Our captain bought the rattans, and hired a Chinese to work them, who was very expert at making such wooden cables. These cables I found serviceable enough after, in mooring the vessel with either of them, for when I carried out the anchor, the cable being thrown out after me, swam like cork in the sea, so that I could see when it was tight, which we cannot so well discern in our hemp cables, whose weight sinks them down; nor can we carry them out but by placing two or three boats at some distance asunder, to buoy up the cable, while the long boat rows out the anchor. To conclude with Malacca, our goods being all on board, we filled our water, and got all in readiness for our departure back again.

CHAP. XXXIV.

His return to Achin, voyage to Fort. St. George and Bencouli, with its description.

WE departed from Malacca towards Achin about the middle of November, 1689, Mr. Coventry being weary of captain Minchin's company, had bought a small vessel of seven or eight tons, and loaded her also with the same kind of goods. This he commanded himself, having a Portuguese pilot, and three or four mariners under him, and we set out both ships in company together. We had now in captain Minchin's ship, but two white men, the captain and I, the boatswain being gone with Mr. Coventry; but we took in a passenger, one Mr. Richards an Englishman, who having lately married a Dutch woman at Malacca, came on board with her, to go as passengers to Achin with us.

We had a land wind in the morning, and about eleven o'clock had the wind at north west, a pretty strong gale, and at twelve our fore-yard broke in the middle. We made signs to Mr. Coventry to bear down to us, who having weighed before us, was a mile to windward; but he kept on, fearing to return, having bought his ship there by stealth; and we therefore returned alone into the Malacca road. As soon as we anchored, Mr. Richards was sent ashore to buy a new yard; I gave him the length and bigness. It was evening before he came on board again, and brought an old yard much too big and too long for us. This piece I shortned and shaped to my mind, and by twelve o'clock at night, had it fix'd and slung, rigg'd, and the sail bent to it.

Then we weighed again having a small land wind, but the tide of flood was against us, and drove us to the eastward. When the ebb came we jogged on, and got about three leagues, anchoring when the flood came, because the winds were against us. Thus we continued plying with the ebb, and anchoring every flood, till we came to Pulo Parsalore, where the captain told me he would not go out the same way we came in, as I would have persuaded him, but kept the Malacca shore aboard, and past within the shoals. But in a few hours after we ran upon a shoal, driven on it by the tide of flood, which here set to the eastward, tho' by our reckoning it should have been half ebb, and the flood should have set westward, as we had it all the rest of the way from Malacca, but the shoals probably caused some whirling about of the tide. However, the sand we were struck upon was not above one hundred yards in circumference, and the flood rising, we waited the time of high water, and then drove over it, having sent our boat to discover how the shoals lay, while our ship was aground: Mr. Richards all the while being in great fear, lest the Malaysans should come off in their boats and attack the vessel.

We were now afloat again, and soon got without all the shoals; yet we did not stand over to Sumatra, but coasted along nearest the Malacca shore, it being now most proper for us so to do; for having the winds westerly, we could not have beat under the other shore. Two or three days after this, we had sight of some islands called Pulo Sambilong, which in the Malayan language signifies nine islands, there being so many of them, lying scattering at unequal distances from each other. It was near one of these islands that captain Minchin in a former voyage was like to lose his hand by a prick with

with a cat-fishes fin, as I have said in my former vol. p. 283, and though his hand was cured, yet he has lost the use of it ever since, and is never likely to regain it more.

We stood in pretty near the shore, in hopes to gain a fresh land wind. About ten o'clock the land wind came off, a gentle breeze and we coasted along shore. But a small tornado coming off from the shore about midnight, we broke our mizen yard, and being near a Dutch island called Pulo Dinding, we made in for it, and anchored there the night ensuing, and found there a Dutch sloop, manned with about thirty soldiers at an anchor.

This is a small island lying so near the main, that ships passing by cannot know it to be an island. It is pretty high land and well watered with brooks. The mould is blackish, deep and fat in the lower ground, but the hills are somewhat rocky, yet in general very woody. The trees are of divers sorts, many of which are good timber, and large enough for any use. Here are some fir for masts and yards, being naturally light, yet tough and serviceable. There is good riding on the east side, between the island and the main. You may come in with the sea-breeze, and go out with a land wind, there is water enough, and a secure harbour.

The Dutch, who are the only inhabitants, have a fort on the east side, close by the sea, in a bending of the island, which makes a small cove for ships to anchor in. The fort is built four square, without flankers or bastions, like a house; every square is about ten or twelve yards. The walls are of a good thickness, made of stone, and carried up to the height of about thirty feet, and covered overhead like a dwelling house. There may be about twelve or fourteen guns in it, some looking out at every square. These guns are mounted on a

strong platform, made within the walls, about sixteen feet high, and there are steps on the out side to ascend to the door that opens to the platform, there being no other way into the fort. Here is a governor and about twenty or thirty soldiers, who all lodge in the fort. The soldiers have their lodging in the platform among the guns, but the governor has a fair chamber above it, where he lies with some of the officers. About a hundred yards from the fort on the bay by the sea, there is a low timbered house, where the governor abides all the day time. In this house there were two or three rooms for their use, but the chief was the governor's dining room. This fronted to the sea, and the end of it looked towards the fort. There were two large windows of about seven or eight feet square, the lower part of them about four or five feet from the ground. These windows were wont to be left open all the day, to let in the refreshing breeze, but in the night, when the governor withdrew to the fort, they were closed with strong shutters, and the doors made fast till the next day. The continent of Malacca opposite to the island, is pretty low champaign land, covered with lofty woods, and right against the bay where the Dutch fort stands, there is a navigable river for small craft.

The product of the country thereabouts, besides rice and other eatables, is tutaneg, a sort of tin; I think coarser than ours. The natives are Malaysians, who, as I have always observed, are bold and treacherous; yet the trading people are affable and courteous to merchants.

These are in all respects, as to their religion, custom, and manner of living, like other Malaysians. Whether they are governed by a king or raja, or what other manner of government they live under I know not. They have canoes and boats of their own,

own, and with these they fish and traffick amongst themselves; but the tin trade is that which has formerly drawn merchant strangers thither. But tho' the country might probably yield great quantities of this metal, and the natives are not only inclinable, but very desirous to trade with strangers, yet are they now restrained by the Dutch, who have monopolized that trade to themselves. It was probably for the lucre of this trade that the Dutch built the fort on the island; but this not wholly answering their ends, by reason of the distance between it and the river's mouth, which is about four or five miles, they have also a guardship commonly lying here, and a sloop with twenty or thirty armed men, to hinder other nations from this trade. For this tutaneg or tin is a valuable commodity in the bay of Bengal, and here purchased reasonably, by giving other commodities in exchange: neither is this commodity peculiarly found hereabouts, but farther northerly also on the coast, and particularly in the kingdom of Queda there is much of it. The Dutch also commonly keep a guardship, and have made some fruitless essays to bring that prince and his subjects to trade only with them; but here over against Pulo Dinding, no strangers dare approach to trade; neither may any ship come in hither but with consent of the Dutch. Therefore as soon as we came to an anchor at the east end of the island, we sent our boat ashore to the governor, to desire leave to wood, water, and cut a new mizen-yard. He granted our request, and the boat returned on board, and brought word also that Mr. Coventry touch'd here to water, and went out that morning. The next morning betimes captain Minchin sent me ashore to cut a yard. I applied myself to the governor, and desired one of his soldiers might go with me, and shew me the best timber for that use,
but

but he excused himself, and said his soldiers were all busy at present, but that I might go and cut any tree that I liked. So I went into the woods, where I saw abundance of very fine strait trees, and cut down such a one as I thought fit for my turn; and having cut it of a just length, and stripped off the bark, I left it ready to be fetched away, and return'd to the fort, where I dined with the governor. Presently after dinner, our captain, with Mr. Richards and his wife came ashore, I went on board. The governor met them at the landing, and conducted them into the dining room I spoke of, where they treated the governor with punch, made of brandy, sugar, and lime juice, which they brought with them from on board; for here is nothing, not so much as the governor's drink, but what they have from Malacca: no herbs or fruit grow here, but all is either fetch'd from Malacca, or is brought by the Malayans from the main. It is not thro' any sterility in the soil, for that is very fat and fruitful; neither is it thro' the laziness of the Dutch, for that is a vice they are not guilty of; but it is from a continual fear of the Malayans, with whom tho' they have a commerce, yet they dare not trust them so far, as to range about the island in any work of husbandry, or indeed to go far from the fort, for there only they are safe. But to return to the governor, he, to retaliate the captain's and Mr. Richard's kindness, sent a boat out to fish, to get some better entertainment for his guests, than the fort yielded at present. About four or five o'clock, the boat returned with a good dish of fish. These were immediately dress'd for supper, and the boat was sent out again to get more, for Mr. Richards and his lady to carry on board with them. In the mean time the food was brought into the dining-room, and placed on the table. The dishes
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and plates were of silver, and there was a silver punch bowl full of liquor. The governor, his guests, and some of his officers were seated, but just as they began to fall to, one of the soldiers cried out, Malaysans, and spoil'd the entertainment; for immediately the governor, without speaking a word, leap'd out of one of the windows, to get as soon he could to the fort. His officers followed, and all the servants that attended were soon in motion. Every one of them took the nearest way, some out of the windows others out of the doors, leaving the three guests by themselves, who soon followed with all the haste they could make, without knowing the meaning of this sudden consternation of the governor and his people. But by that time the captain, Mr. Richards and his wife were got to the fort, the governor, who was arrived before, stood at the door to receive them. As soon as they were entered the fort, the door was shut, and all the soldiers and servants being within already; nor was any man suffered to fetch away the victuals, or any of the plate: but they fired several guns to give notice to the Malaysans that they were ready for them; but none of them came on. For this uproar was occasioned by a Malayan canoe full of armed men, that lay sculking under the island, close by the shore; and when the Dutch boat went out a second time to fish, the Malaysans set on them suddenly, and unexpected, with their creffets and lances, and killed one or two, the rest leaping overboard, got away; for they were close by the shore, and being without arms were not able to make any resistance. It was about a mile from the fort; and being landed, every one of them made what haste he could to the fort, and the first that arrived was he who cried in that manner, and frightened the governor from supper. Our boat was at this time ashore for water,
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and were filling it in a small brook by the banquetting-house. I know not whether our boats crew took notice of the alarm, but the Dutch call'd to them, and bid them make haste on board, which they did; and this made us keep good watch all night, having all our guns loaded and primed for service. But it rained so hard all night, that I did not much fear being attacked by any Malaysans, being informed by one of our seamen whom we took in at Malacca, that the Malaysans seldom or ever make any attack when it rains. It is what I had before observed of other Indians, both East and west; and tho' then they might make their attacks with the greatest advantage on men armed with hand guns, yet I never knew it practised, at which I have wondered: for 'tis then that we most fear them, and they might then be most successful, because their arms, which are usually lances and cressets, which these Malaysans had, could not be damaged by the rain, as our guns would be. But they cannot endure to be in the rain; and it was in the evening before the rain fell, that they assaulted the Dutch boat. The next morning the Dutch sloop weighed, and went to look after the Malaysans but having sailed round the island, and seeing no enemy, they anchored again. I also sent men ashore in our boat to bring off the mizen yard that I had cut the day before; but it was so heavy a kind of timber, that they could not bring it out of the woods. Captain Minchin was still ashore, and he being acquainted with it, desired the governor to send a soldier, to shew our men what trees were best for our use, which he did, and they presently cut a small tree, about the bigness and length of that which I cut, and brought it on board. I immediately went to work, and having fitted it for use, bent my sail, and hoisted it up into its place.

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In the evening captain Minchin, Mr. Richards and his wife came on board, having staid one night at the fort, and told me all that had happened to them ashore.

We now waited only for a land wind to carry us out. The former part of the night we had much rain, with thunder and lightning, but no wind. At one o'clock we had a small wind, and got up our anchors. We got out before day, clear of the island, and steered along shore to the northward, intending to keep this shore aboard for twenty or thirty leagues farther, if the wind did not favour us; for the sea winds were now at N. W. This day we kept near the shore, and the night ensuing; but the next day the wind came at N. and N.N.E. and we stood over for Sumatra, and the next evening we past by Diamond point, and the wind coming at E. N. E. we got, in about two days more to Achin, about the end of November 1689.

Here we found Mr. Coventry, who had got thither two or three days before us. Captain Minchin went ashore with his passengers, and was discharg'd of his command. I kept on board till all the goods were unladen, and then lay ashore, and was very sick for a fortnight of a kind of fever. But after Christmas, I was sent on board again, by order of Mr. Coventry, who had then bought out Mr. Dalton's and captain Tyler's shares, to take charge of the vessel, which he then loaded with pepper, cubebs (which I think grow somewhere in Sumatra) and tutaneg, which he bought of an English vessel that came from Queda to Achin; and with these he had also some of our Malacca cargo, which we kept on board, viz. rattans and walking-canes. With this cargo we were bound for Fort St. George. We took in also two English passengers, who had escap'd out of prison in the mogul's country. The

one belong'd to the Defence, captain Heath's ship, which I came home to England in afterwards; he was purser of it; the other was midshipman in the Princess Anne, which return'd to England at the same time. But during our war with the mogul, these ships had been in the bay of Bengal, to fetch away our effects from the river of Hugly. These two men, with two or three others, went ashore upon some occasion, and were taken prisoners by the mogul's subjects, who sent them a great way up into the country, where they were kept in close custody, and often threatned with death. The old nabob, or governor of the province, being removed, and a new one coming thither, he releas'd them, and gave them leave to go to the sea side, where finding a Dutch ship bound to Batavia, these two and one more went on board her, the rest getting other passage; but she meeting with that English ship coming from Queda, which brought the tutaneg I just now mentioned, to Achin, they left the Dutch ship, and went to Achin with the other English vessel; and those two went with us now to Fort St. George.

It was about new-year's day, 1690, that we set out from Achin again. We steered away towards the Nicobar islands, and came in sight of that which I had formerly been set ashore upon. But leaving it on our star-board, we stood more northerly up into the bay; for by Mr. Coventry I had learn'd there were northerly and north easterly winds in the bay at this time of year. We stood over therefore as high as Pallacat, and having then a fair north east wind, we run along the coast till we came before Fort St. George, which was about the middle of January.

I was much pleas'd with the beautiful prospect this place makes off at sea. For it stands in a plain sandy

fandy spot of ground, close by the shore, the sea sometimes washing its walls, which are of stone and high, with half moons and flankers, and a great many guns mounted on the battlements; so that what with the walls and fine buildings within the fort, the large town of Madras without it, the pyramids of the English tombs, houses and gardens adjacent, and the variety of fine trees scattered up and down, it makes as agreeable a landskip as I have any where seen.

But it is not my design to enter into a description of a place so well known to my countrymen as this is. It may suffice to have mentioned it, and that after some months stay here, and meeting with Mr. Moody and Jeoly the painted prince, I prepared to go for Sumatra again: I set out from Fort St. George with captain Howel in July, 1690, we steered a pretty way along the coast of Coromandel, before we stood over for Sumatra, and then made the best of our way for Bencouli. I have already spoken of my arrival there, but having given no account of the place, I shall do it briefly now.

Bencouli lies on the west coast of the island of Sumatra, in about 4 d. S. lat. It is a place noted enough at sea, by reason of a high slender hill in the country. It has a small island before it within which ships ride. The point of Sallabar lies two or three leagues to the southward of it, and runs out farther than any part of the shore, making a small bay within it. Besides these marks, when you come within two or three leagues of the shore, you will see the English fort fronting to the sea, which makes a fine shew; on the north west of the fort is a small river, at the mouth of which is a large storehouse to put pepper in. About a quarter of a mile from the sea stands a small Indian village, close by the river, on the same side that the fort is on, and
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but a small distance from it. The houses are small and low, all built on posts after the Malayan manner, as at Mindanao and Achin, for it is a swamp that the town stands on; but the Malayans usually chuse to build in such low places near rivers, for the convenience of washing themselves, which they greatly delight in; as it is indeed a part of their religion as Mahometans; and if they can, they will have their houses stand on posts over the river.

The weather here is none of the pleasantest. There are great rains, chiefly in September, October, and November, and pretty great heats. But when the wind blew hard, which it would often do, the air would be chill; and the sea-breezes in fair weather were generally pretty fresh and comfortable. The land winds coming over swamps, usually brought a stink with them. It is in general an unhealthy place, and the soldiers of the fort were sickly and died very fast. On the south side of the fort is a fair champaign savannah, of a mile or two square, called Greenhil. It produces long thick grass, the N. W. part of it fronts the sea, and the S. E. is bounded with lofty woods.

The soil of this country is very different, according to its different position; for within land it is hilly, yet those hills are covered with trees, which shews it to be fruitful enough. The low land, near the river, especially near the sea, is swampy, producing nothing but reeds, or bamboes, but the higher ground, which is of a reasonable height, is very fruitful. The mould is deep, and either black or yellow; and in some places clay, or such mould as is very proper for making bricks.

The trees in the woods are mostly large bodied, straight and tall; they are of divers sorts, some or other of them fit for any uses. The fruits of the country are much of the same as at Achin and Malacca,

lacca, viz. limes, oranges, guavas, plantains, bonanoes, cocoa-nuts, jacks, durians, mangoes, mangastans, pompions, pine-apples, and pepper. The roots are yams, and potatoes; rice grows here pretty well also; but whether the natives sow enough for their own spending or no, I know not. The land animals are buffaloes, bullocks, deer, wild hogs, porcupines, guanoes, lizards, &c. The tame fowls are ducks and dunghill fowls, both in great plenty. The wild fowl are parots, parakites, pigeons, turtle-doves, and many sorts of smaller birds.

The natives also are swarthy Indians like their neighbours of Achin. They are slender, straight, active, and industrious. They are sociable and desirous of trade, but if they are affronted, they are treacherous and revengeful. They live together in towns, and speak the Malayan language; conforming themselves in their habit, food, and customs to other Malaysians, who are all, so far as I learned, of the Mahometan religion. There are some mechanics among them; a few smiths, but most of them are carpenters, and let themselves out to hire to the English at the fort. The hatchets they work with are such as they use at Mindanao, so contrived as to serve also for an ad. Here are also fishermen, who get a livelihood by fishing, and there are several sorts of fish on the coast, besides plenty of green turtle; such of the Malaysians as live near the English fort are usually employed in the East India company's service, to work for them; but the country people are most husbandmen. They plant roots, rice, pepper bushes, &c.

Pepper is the chief vendible commodity in this country. It thrives very well on all the coast; but the greatest quantity of what is exported from hence, is either brought down this river out of the country, or fetched from Sillabar, or other places

bordering on the sea, in small vessels. Pepper grows plenty in other places of this island; as at Indrapore, Pangasanam, Jamby, Bancalis, &c. It grows also on the island Java, on the coasts of Malacca, Malabar, Cochinchina, &c. The coast of Malabar is said to produce the best, or at least there the natives take most care to have the best, by letting it grow till it is full ripe, for which reason it is larger and fairer than here, where they gather it too soon, to avoid losing any; for as soon as it grows ripe, it is apt to shed and fall in waste to the ground.

It was the pepper trade that drew our English merchants to settle here. For after Bantam was lost, our English who were wont to trade thither for this spice, were at a great loss to regain the pepper trade, which now was in a manner fallen with the other sorts of spice into the hands of the Dutch; though the pepper which we were wont to fetch from Bantam did not all grow on this island Java, nor perhaps the tenth part of it; for as I have been informed it came most from Sumatra, particularly from Bencouli, and the adjacent parts. For this reason it behoved our merchants to get an interest here to prop up their declining trade. Yet, as I have been told, the success was more owing to the natives of this place than themselves; for that some of the Rajas of the country sent ambassadors to Fort St. George to invite the English hither to take possession, before the Dutch should get it, who are never slack to promote their interest, and were now setting out on the same design. But however, the English had the good fortune to get hither first; though so narrowly, that the Dutch were within an ace of preventing them, their ships being in sight before our men got ashore. But the Dutch coming thus too late, were put of their designs, for the English immediately got ashore some guns, and stood
ready

ready to defend their interest. This might happen about the year 1685, as I was informed, for they told me it was five or six years before I came hither, and the English immediately fortified themselves. The fort, as I said before, fronts to the sea, and stands about one hundred paces from the river. There has been a great deal of cost bestowed on it, but to little purpose; for 'tis the most irregular piece I ever saw. I told the governor the best way was to new model it, and face it with stone or brick, either of which might be easily had. He said he liked my counsel, but being saving for the company, he rather chose to repair it, by the making some alterations; but still to as little purpose, for 'twas all made ground, and having no facing to keep it up, it would moulder away every wet season, and the guns often fall down into the ditches. What was possible to be done I endeavoured to do while I was there. I made the bastions as regular as I could upon the model they were made by, and whereas the fort was designed to be a patagon, and there were but four of the bastions made, I staked out for a fifth, and drew a plan of it, which I gave the government; and had I staid longer I should have made up the other bastion, but the whole plan is too big by half for so sorry a garrison, and the best way of mending it, is to demolish all of it, and make a new one.

The fort was but forrily governed when I was there, nor was there that care taken to keep a good correspondence with the natives in the neighbourhood, as I think ought to be, in all trading places especially. When I came thither there were two neighbouring Rajas in the stocks, for no other reason, but because they had not brought down to the fort such quantity of pepper, as the governor had sent for. Yet these Rajas rule in the country, and

have a considerable number of subjects, who were so exasperated at these insolences, that, as I have since been informed, they came down and assaulted the fort, under the conduct of one of these Rajas. But the fort, as bad as it is, is guard enough against such indifferent soldiers as they are, who though they have courage enough, yet scarce any arms besides back-swords, cressets, and lances, nor skill to use artillery if they had it. At another time they made an attempt to surprize the fort, under pretence of a cock match, to which they hoped the garrison would come out, to share in the sport, and so the fort be left with small defence. For the Malayans here are great lovers of cock-fighting, and there were about one thousand of them got together about this match, while their armed men lay in ambush. But it so happened that none of the garrison went out to the cock-match, but one John Necklin, a Dane, who was a great gamester himself; and he discovering the ambush, gave notice of it to the governor, who was in disorder enough upon their approach; but a few of the great guns drove them away.

I have nothing more to add, but what concerns myself, and therefore shall only take notice at present of two passages, which I think I ought not to omit.

The first is, that at my return from Malacca, a little before Christmas, 1689, I found at Achin one Mr. Morgan, who was one of our ships crew that left me ashore at Nicobar, now mate of a Danish ship of Trangambar, which is a town on the coast of Coromandel, near Cape Comorin, belonging to the Danes; and receiving an account of our crew from him and others, I thought it might not be amiss to gratify the readers curiosity therewith, who would probably be desirous to know the success
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of those rambles, in their new intended expedition towards the Red Sea, and withal I thought it might not be unlikely that these papers may fall into the hands of some of our London merchants, who were concerned in fitting out that ship, which I said formerly, was called the Cygnet of London, sent on a trading voyage into the South Seas, under the command of captain Swan; and that they might be willing to have a particular information of the fate of their ship. And by the way, even before this meeting with Mr. Morgan, while I was at Tonquin, January, 1689, I met with an English ship in the river of Tonquin, called the Rainbow of London, captain Poole commander; by whose mate, Mr. Barlow, who was returning in that ship to England, I sent a packet, which he undertook to deliver to the merchants, owners of the Cygnet, some of which he said he knew; wherein I gave a particular account of all the course and transactions of their ship, from the time of my first meeting it in the South Seas, and going on board it there, to its leaving me ashore at Nicobar. But I never could hear that either that, or other letters which I sent at the same time, were received.

To proceed therefore with Morgan's relation; he told me, that when they in the Cygnet went away from Nicobar, in pursuit of their intended voyage to Persia, they directed their course towards Ceylon. But not being able to weather it, the westerly monsoon bearing hard against them, they were obliged to seek refreshment on the coast of Coromandel. Here this mad fickle crew were upon new projects again. Their designs meeting with such delays and obstructions, that many of them grew weary of it, and about half of them went ashore. Of this number, Mr. Morgan, who told me this, and Mr. Herman Coppinger the surgeon, went to the

Danes at Trangambar, who kindly received them. There they lived very well, and Mr. Morgan was employed as a mate in a ship of theirs at this time to Achin; and captain Knox tells me, that he since commanded the *Curtana*, the ship that I went in to Tonquin, which captain Weldon having sold to the Mogul's subjects, they employed Mr. Morgan as captain to trade in her for them, and it is an usual thing for the trading Indians to hire Europeans to go officers on board their ships; especially captains and gunners.

About two or three more of these that were set ashore, went to Fort St. George; but the main body of them were for going into the Mogul's service. Our seamen are apt to have great notions of I know not what profit and advantages to be had in serving the Mogul; nor do they want for fine stories to encourage one another to it. It was what these men had long been thinking and talking of as a fine thing; but now they went upon it in good earnest. The place where they went ashore was at a town of the Moors; which name our seamen give to all the subjects of the great mogul, but especially his mahometan subjects, calling the idolaters, Gentous, or Rashbouts. At this Moors town they got a peun to be their guide to the mogul's nearest camp, for he hath always several armies in his vast empire.

These peuns are some of the Gentous, or Rashbouts, who in all places along the coast, especially in seaport towns, make it their business to hire themselves to wait upon strangers, be they merchants, seamen, or what they will. To qualify them for such attendance, they learn the European languages, English, Dutch, French, Portuguese, &c. according as they have any of the factories of these nations, in their neighbourhood, or are visited by their ships. No sooner doth any such ship come to
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anchor, and the men come ashore, but there are many of these peuns ready to proffer their service. 'Tis usual for the strangers to hire their attendance during their stay there, giving them about a crown a month of our money, more or less. The richest sort of men will commonly hire two or three peuns to wait upon them; and even the common seamen, if able, will hire one apiece to attend them, either for convenience or ostentation; or sometimes one peun between two of them. These peuns serve them in many capacities, as interpreters, brokers, servants to attend at meals and to go to market, and on errands, &c. Nor do they give any trouble, for they eat at their own homes and lodge there, when they have done their master's business for them, expecting nothing but their wages, except that they have a certain allowance of about a fanam, or three pence in a dollar, which is an 18th part profit, by way of brokerage for every bargain they drive; being commonly employed in buying and selling. When the strangers go away, their peuns desire them to give them their names in writing, with a certificate of their honest and diligent service to them; and these they shew to the next comers, to get into business: some are able to produce a large scrawl of such certificates.

But to proceed; the Moors town, where these men landed, was not far from Cunnimere, a small English factory on the Coromandel coast. The governor whereof having intelligence by the Moors of the landing of these men, and their intended march to the mogul's camp, sent out a captain with his company to oppose it. He came up with them, and gave them hard words; but they being thirty or forty resolute fellows, not easily daunted, he durst not attack them, but returned to the governor, and the news of it was soon carried to Fort St.

George. During their march, John Oliver who was one of them, privately told the peun who guided them, that himself was their captain. So when they came to the camp, the peun told this to the general; and when their stations and pay were assign'd them, John Oliver had a greater respect paid him than the rest; and whereas their pay was ten pagodas a month each man, (a pagoda is two dollars or nine shillings English) his pay was twenty pagodas; which stratagem and usurpation of his occasioned him no small envy and indignation from his comrades.

Soon after this two or three of them went to Agra, to be of the mogul's guard. A while after the governor of Fort St. George sent a message to the main body of them, and a pardon to withdraw them from thence; which most of them accepted, and came away. John Oliver, and the small remainder, continued in the country; but leaving the camp, went up and down plundering villages, and fleeing when they were pursued, and this was the last news I heard of them. This account I had, partly by Mr. Morgan, from some of those deserters he met with at Trangambar; and partly from others of them whom I met with myself afterwards at Fort S. George. And these were the adventures of those who went up into the country.

Captain Read having thus lost the best half of his men, sailed away with the rest of them, after having filled his water, and got rice, still intending for the Red Sea. When they were near Ceylon, they met with a Portuguese ship richly laden; out of which they took what they pleas'd, and then turned her away again. From thence they pursued their voyage; but the westerly winds bearing hard against them, and making it hardly probable for them to reach the Red Sea, they stood

stood away for Madagascar. There they entered into the service of one of the petty princes of that island, to assist him against his neighbours, with whom he was at wars. During this interval, a small vessel from New York came hither to purchase slaves; which trade is driven here, as it is upon the coast of Guinea; one nation or clan selling others that are their enemies. Captain Read, with about five or six more, stole away from their crew, and went on board this New York ship; and captain Teat was made commander of the residue. Soon after which, a brigantine from the West Indies, captain Knight commander, coming thither with design to go to the Red Sea also; these of the Cygnet consorted with them, and they went together to the island Johanna. Thence going together towards the Red Sea, the Cygnet proved leaky, and sailed heavily, being much out of repair, captain Knight grew weary of her company, and giving her the slip in the night, went away for Achin; for having heard that there was plenty of gold there, he went thither with design to cruize; and 'twas from one Mr. Humes, belonging to the Ann of London, captain Freke commander, who had gone on board captain Knight, and whom I saw afterwards at Achin, that I had this relation. Some of captain Freke's men, their own ship being lost, had gone on board the Cygnet at Johanna; and after captain Knight had left her, she still pursued her voyage towards the Red Sea; but the winds being against them, and the ship in so ill a condition, they were forced to bear away for Coromandel, where captain Teat and his own men went ashore to serve the mogul. But the strangers of captain Freke's ship, who kept still on board the Cygnet undertook to carry her for England; and the last news I heard of her, was from capt. Knox,
who

who tells me that she now lies sunk in St. Augustin's bay in Madagascar. This digression I have made to give an account of our ship.

The other passage I shall speak of, that occurred in the interval of the tour I made from Achin, is with relation to the painted prince, whom I brought with me into England, and who died at Oxford. For while I was at Fort. St. George, about April 1690, there arrived a ship called the Mindanao Merchant, laden with clove bark from Mindanao; three of captain Swan's men, that remained there when we went from thence, came in her; from whom I had the account of captain Swan's death, as is before related. There was also one Mr. Moody, who was supercargo of the ship. This gentleman bought at Mindanao, the painted prince Jeoly, mentioned in chapter XX, and his mother, and brought them to Fort St. George, where they were much admired by all that saw them. Some time after this, Mr. Moody, who spoke the Malayan language very well, and was a person very capable to manage the company's affairs, was ordered by the governor of Fort St. George to prepare to go to Indrapore, an English factory on the west coast of Sumatra, in order to succeed Mr. Gibbons, who was chief of that place.

By this time I was very intimately acquainted with Mr. Moody, and was importuned by him to go with him, to be gunner of the fort there. I always told him I had a great desire to go to the bay of Bengal, and that I had now an offer to go thither with captain Medcalf, who wanted a mate, and had already spoke to me. Mr. Moody, to encourage me to go with him, told me, that if I would go with him to Indrapore, he would buy a small vessel there, and send me to the island Meangis, commander of her, and that I should carry prince Jeoly

Jeoly and his mother with me (that being their country) by which means I might gain a commerce with his people for cloves.

This was a design that I liked very well, therefore I consented to go thither. It was some time in July 1690, when we went from Fort St. George, in a small ship called the Diamond, captain Howel command. We were about fifty or sixty passengers in all; some ordered to be left at Indrapore, and some at Bencouli: five or six of us were officers, the rest soldiers to the company. We met nothing in our voyage that deserves notice, till we came abreast of Indrapore, and then the wind came at north west, and blew so hard that we could not get in, but were forced to bear away to Bencouli, another English factory on the same coast, which lay fifty or sixty leagues to the southward of Indrapore.

Upon our arrival at Bencouli we saluted the fort, and were weloomed by them. The same day we came to an anchor; and captain Howel, and Mr. Moody, with the other merchants went ashore, and were all kindly received by the governor of the fort. It was two days after before I went ashore, and then I was importuned by the governor to stay there, to be gunner of this fort, because the gunner was lately dead; and this being a place of more import than Indrapore, I should do the company more service here than there. I told the governor if he would augment my salary, which by agreement with the governor of Fort St. George, I was to have had at Indrapore, I was willing to serve him; provided Mr. Moody would consent to it. As to my salary, he told me, I should have twenty four dollars per month: which was as much as he gave to the old gunner.

Mr. Moody gave no answer till a week after, and then, being ready to be gone to Indrapore, he told me

me I might use my own liberty, either to stay here or go with him to Indrapore. He added, that if I went with him, he was not certain, as yet, to perform his promise, in getting a vessel for me to go to Meangis, with Jeoly and his mother; but he would be so fair to me, that because I left Madras on his account, he would give me half share of the two painted people, and leave them in my possession, and at my disposal. I accepted of the offer, and writings were immediately drawn between us.

Thus it was that I came to have this painted prince, whose name was Jeoly, and his mother. They were born on a small island call Meangis, which is once or twice mentioned in chapter XX. I saw the island twice, and two more close by it; each of the three seemed to be about four or five leagues round, and of a good height. Jeoly himself told me, that they all three abounded with gold, cloves, and nutmegs; for I shewed him some of each sort several times, and he told me in the Malayan language, which he spoke indifferent well; Meangis hadda madochala se bullawan; that is, there is abundance of gold at Meangis. Bullawan, I have observed to be the common word for gold at Mindanao; but whether the proper Malayan word I know not, for I found much difference between the Malayan language as it was spoken at Mindanao, and the language on the coast of Malacca and Achin. Then I shewed him spice, he would not only tell me that there was madochala, that is, abundance; but to make it appear more plain, he would also shew me the hair of his head, a thing frequent among all the Indians that I have met with, to shew their hair, when they would express more than they can number. He told me also, that his father was raja of the island where they

they lived ; that there was not above thirty men on the island, and about one hundred women ; that he himself had five wives and eight children, and that one of his wives painted him.

He was painted all down his breast, between his shoulders behind ; on his thighs (mostly) before ; and in the form of several broad rings, or bracelets round his arms and legs. I cannot liken the drawings to any figure of animals, or the like, but they were very curious, full of great variety of lines, flourishes, chequered work, &c. keeping a very graceful proportion, and appearing very artificial, even to wonder, especially that upon and between his shoulder-blades. By the account he gave me of the manner of doing it, I understood that the painting was done in the same manner, as the Jerusalem cross is made in men's arms, by pricking the skin, and rubbing in a pigment. But whereas powder is used in making the Jerusalem cross, they at Meangis use the gum of a tree beaten to powder, called by the English drammer, which is used instead of pitch in many parts of India. He told me, that most of the men and women on the island were thus painted ; and also that they had all earrings made of gold, and gold shackles about their legs and arms ; that their common food, of the produce of the land, was potatoes and yams ; that they had plenty of cocks and hens ; but no other tame fowl. He said that fish (of which he was a great lover, as wild Indians generally are) was very plentiful about the island ; and they had canoes, and went a fishing frequently in them ; and that they often visited the other two small islands, whose inhabitants speak the same language as they did ; which was so unlike the Malayan, which he had learn'd while he was a slave at Mindanao, that when his mother and he were talking together in
their

their Meangian tongue, I could not understand one word they said. And indeed all the Indians who speak Malayan, who are the trading and politer sort, looked on these Meangians as a kind of Barbarians; and upon any occasion of dislike, would call them bobby, that is, hoggs, the greatest expression of contempt that can be, especially from the mouth of Malayans, who are generally Mahometans, and yet the Malayans every where call a woman babby, a name not much different; and mamma signifies a man. Though these two last words properly denote male and female; and as ejam signifies a fowl, so ejam mamma is a cock, and ejam babbi is a hen. But this by the way.

He said also that the customs of those other isles, and their manner of living, was like theirs, and that they were the only people with whom they had any converse; and that one time, as he, with his father, mother, and brother, with two or three men more, were going to one of these other islands, they were driven by a strong wind on the coast of Mindanao, where they were taken by the fishermen of that island, and carried ashore, and sold as slaves, being first striped of their gold ornaments. I did not see any of the gold that they wore, but there were great holes in their ears, by which it was manifest that they had worn some ornaments in them. Jeoly was sold to one Michael a Mindanayan, that spoke good Spanish, and commonly waited on Raja Laut, serving him as our interpreter, where the Raja was at a loss in any word, for Michael understood it better. He often beat and abused his painted servant, to make him work, but all in vain, for neither fair means, threats, nor blows would make him work as he would have him. Yet he was very timorous, and could not endure to see any sort of

of weapons, and he often told me that they had no arms at Meangis, having no enemies to fight with.

I knew this Michael very well, while we were at Mindanao. I suppose that name was given him by the Spaniards, who baptized many of them at the time when they had footing at that island; but at the departure of the Spaniards, they were Mahometans again as before. Some of our people lay at this Michael's house, whose wife and daughter were pagallies to some of them. I often saw Jeoly at his master Michael's house, and when I came to have him so long after, he remembered me again. I never saw his father, brother, nor any of the others that were taken with them, but Jeoly came several times on board our ship when we lay at Mindanao, and gladly accepted of such victuals as we gave him; for his master kept him at very short commons.

Prince Jeoly lived thus a slave at Mindanao four or five years, till at last Mr. Moody bought him and his mother for sixty dollars, and, as is before related, carried him to Fort St. George, and from thence to Bencouli. Mr. Moody stayed at Bencouli about three weeks, and then went back with captain Howel to Indrapore, leaving Jeoly and his mother with me. They lived in a house by themselves without the fort. I had no employment for them, but they both employed themselves. She used to make and mend their own cloths, at which she was not very expert, for they wear no cloths at Meangis, but only a cloth about their waists, and he busied himself in making a chest with four boards, and a few nails that he begged of me. It was but an ill shaped odd thing, yet he was as proud of it, as if it had been the rarest piece in the world. After some time they were both taken sick, and though I took as much care of them as if they had been my brother and sister, yet she died. I did what I could

to

to comfort Jeoly, but he took on extremely, inso-much that I feared him also. Therefore I caused a grave to be made presently, to hide her out of his sight. I had her shrowded decently in a piece of new calico, but Jeoly was not so satisfied, for he wrapped all her cloths about her, and two new pieces of chints that Mr. Moody gave her, saying that they were his mothers, and she must have them. I would not disoblige him for fear of endangering his life, and I used all possible means to recover his health, but I found little amendment while we stayed here.

In the little printed relation that was made of him when he was shewn for a fight in England, there was a romantic story of a beautiful sister of his, a slave with them at Mindanao; and of the sultan's falling in love with her; but these were stories indeed. They reported also that this paint was of such virtue, that serpents and venomous creatures would fly from him, for which reason, I suppose, they represented so many serpents scampering about in the printed picture that was made of him. But I never knew any paint of such virtue; and as for Jeoly, I have seen him as much afraid of snakes, scorpions, or centapees, as myself.

Having given this account of the ship that left me at Nicobar, and of my painted prince whom I brought with me to Bencouli, I shall now proceed on with the relation of my voyage thence to England, after I have given this short account of the occasion of it, and the manner of my getting away.

To say nothing therefore now of that place, and my employment there as gunner of the fort, the year 1690 drew towards an end, and not finding the governor keep to his agreement with me, nor seeing by his carriage towards others any great reason I had to expect he would, I began to wish myself away again. I saw so much ignorance in him,
with

with respect to his charge, being much fitter to be a book-keeper than governor of a fort ; and yet so much insolence and cruelty with respect to those under him, and rashness in the management of the Malayan neighbourhood, that I soon grew weary of him, not thinking myself very safe indeed, under a man whose humours were so brutish and barbarous. I forbear to mention his name after such a character, nor do I care to fill these papers with particular stories of him : but therefore give this intimation, because as it is the interest of the nation in general, so is it especially of the honourable East India company, to be informed of abuses in their factories. And I think the company might receive great advantage by strictly enquiring into the behaviour of those whom they intrust with any command. For besides the odium, which reflects back upon the superiors from the misdoings of their servants, how undeservedly soever, there are great and lasting mischiefs proceed from the tyranny or ignorant rashness of some petty governors. Those under them are discouraged from their service by it, and often go away to the Dutch, the Mogul, or the Malayan princes, to the great detriment of our trade, and even the trade and the forts themselves are many times in danger by indiscreet provocations given to the neighbouring nations, who are best managed, as all mankind are, by justice, and fair dealings, nor are any more implacably revengeful than those Malayans, who live in the neighbourhood of Ben-couli, which fort hath been more than once in danger of being surpris'd by them. I speak not this out of disgust to this particular governor, much less would I seem to reflect on any others, of whom I know nothing amiss ; but as it is not to be wonder'd at, if some should not know how to demean themselves in places of power, for which neither

their education nor their business possibly, have sufficiently qualified them, so it will be the more necessary for the honourable company to have the closer eye over them, and as much as may be, to prevent or reform any abuses they may be guilty of, and 'tis purely out of my zeal for theirs and the nations interest, that I have given this caution, having seen too much occasion for it.

I had other motives also for my going away. I began to long after my native country, after so tedious a ramble from it; and I proposed no small advantage to myself from my painted prince whom Mr. Moody had left entirely to my disposal, only reserving to himself his right to one half share in him. For besides what might be gained by shewing him in England, I was in hopes that when I had got some money, I might there obtain what I had in vain sought for in the Indies, viz. a ship from the merchants, wherewith to carry him back to Meangis, and reinstate him there in his own country, and by his favour and negotiation to establish a traffic for the spices and other products of those islands.

Upon these projects, I went to the governor and council, and desired that I might have my discharge to go for England with the next ship that came. The council thought it reasonable, and they consented to it, he also gave me his word that I should go. Upon the second of January, 1691, there came to an anchor in Bencouli road, the Defence, captain Heath commander, bound for England, in the service of the company. They had been at Indrapore, where Mr. Moody then was, and he had made over his share in prince Jeoly to Mr. Goddard chief mate of the ship. Upon his coming on shore, he shewed me Mr. Moody's writings, and looked upon Jeoly, who had been sick for three months; in

in all which time I attended him as carefully as if he had been my brother. I agreed matters with Mr. Goddard, and sent Jeoly on board, intending to follow him as I could, and desiring Mr. Goddard's assistance to fetch me off, and conceal me on board the ship if there should be occasion, which he promised to do, and the captain promised to entertain me. For it proved as I had foreseen, that upon captain Heath's arrival, the governor repented him of his promise, and would not suffer me to depart. I importuned him all I could, but in vain, so did captain Heath also, but to no purpose. In short, after several essays, I slipped away at midnight (understanding the ship was to sail away the next morning, and that they had taken leave of the fort) and creeping through one of the port-holes of the fort, I got to the shore, where the ship's boat waited for me, and carried me on board. I brought with me my journal, and most of my written papers; but some papers and books of value I left in haste, and all my furniture, being glad I was myself at liberty, and in hopes of seeing England again.

CHAP. XXXV.

The author's departure from Bencouli, on board the Defence under captain Heath. and arrival at the Cape of Good Hope, with a description of the Dutch settlement there,

BEING thus got on board the Defence, I was concealed there, till a boat which came from the fort laden with pepper was gone off again, and then we set sail for the Cape of Good Hope, Jan. 25, 1691, and made the best of our way, as wind and weather would permit, expecting there to meet three English ships more bound home from the Indies;

for the war with the French having been proclaimed at Fort St. George, a little before captain Heath came from thence, he was willing to have company home, if he could.

A little before this war was proclaimed, there was an engagement in the road of Fort St. George between some French men of war, and some Dutch and English ships at anchor in the road; which, because there is such a plausible story made of it in monsieur Duquesne's late voyage to the East Indies, I shall give a short account of, as I had it particularly related to me by the gunners mate of captain Heath's ship, a very sensible man, and several others of his men, who were in the action. The Dutch have a fort on the coast of Coromandel, called Pallacat, about twenty leagues to the northward of Fort St. George. Upon some occasion or other the Dutch sent some ships thither to fetch away their effects, and transport them to Batavia. Acts of hostility were already begun between the French and Dutch; and the French had at this time a squadron newly arrived in India, and lying at Pondicherry, a French fort on the same coast, southward of Fort St. George. The Dutch in returning to Batavia, were obliged to coast it along by Fort St. George and Pondicherry, for the sake of the wind, but when they came near this last, they saw the French men of war lying at anchor there; and should they have proceeded along the shore, or stood out to sea, expected to be pursued by them. They therefore turned back again; for though their ships were of a pretty good force, yet they were unfit for fight, as having great loads of goods, and many passengers, women and children, on board; so they put in at Fort St. George, and desiring the governor's protection, had leave to anchor in the road, and to send their goods and useless people ashore.

ashore. There was then in the road a few small English ships; and captain Heath, whose ship was a very stout merchant-man, and which the French relater calls the English admiral, was just come from China; but very deep laden with goods, and the deck full of cannisters of sugar, which he was preparing to send ashore. But before he could do it, the French appeared; coming into the road with their lower sails and top-sails, and had with them a fire ship. With this they thought to have burnt the Dutch commodore, and might probably have done it, as she lay at anchor, if they had had the courage to have come boldly on; but they fired their ship at a distance, and the Dutch sent and towed her away, where she spent herself without any execution. Had the French men of war also come boldly up, and grappled with their enemies, they might have done something considerable, for the fort could not have played on them, without damaging our ships as well as theirs. But instead of this, the French dropped anchor out of reach of the fort, and their lay exchanging shot with their enemies ships, with so little advantage to themselves, that after about four hours fight, they cut their cables, and went away in haste and disorder, with all their sails loose, even their top-gallant sails, which is not usual, but when ships are just next to running away.

Captain Heath, notwithstanding his ship was so heavy and incumbered, behav'd himself very bravely in the fight; and upon the going off of the French, went aboard the Dutch commodore, and told him that if he would pursue them, he would stand out with them to sea, though he had very little water on board; but the Dutch commander excused himself, saying he had orders to defend himself from the French, but none to chase them,

or go out of his way to seek them. And this was the exploit which the French have thought fit to boast of. I hear that the Dutch have taken from them since, their fort of Pondicherry.

But to proceed with our voyage: we had not been at sea long, before our men began to droop, in a sort of distemper that stole insensibly on them, and proved fatal to above thirty who died before we arrived at the cape. We had sometimes two, and once three men thrown overboard in a morning. This distemper might probably arise from the badness of the water, which we took in at Ben-couli; for I observed while I was there, that the river-water, wherewith our ships were watered, was very unwholesome, it being mix'd with the water of many small creeks, that proceeded from low land, and whose streams were always very black, being nourished by the water that drained out of the low swampy unwholesome ground.

I have observed not only here, but in other hot countries also, both in the East and West Indies, that the land floods which pour into the channels of the rivers, about the seasons of the rains, are very unwholesome. For when I lived in the bay of Campeachy, the fish were found dead in heaps on the shores of the rivers and creeks, at such a season; and many we took up half dead, of which sudden mortality, there appeared no cause but only the malignity of the waters draining off the land. This happens chiefly, as I take it, where the water drains through thick woods and savannahs of long grafs, and swampy grounds, with which some hot countries abound; and I believe it receives a strong tincture from the roots of several kinds of trees, herbs, &c. and especially where there is any stagnancy of the water, it soon corrupts; and possibly the serpents, and other poisonous vermin and
infects

infects may not a little contribute to its bad qualities : at such times it will look very deep coloured, yellow, red, or black, &c. The season of the rains was over, and the land floods were abating upon the taking up this water in the river of Bencouli ; but would the seamen have given themselves the trouble, they might have fill'd their vessels with excellent good water at a spring on the backside of the fort, not above two or three hundred paces from the landing place, and with which the fort is served. And I mention this as a caution to any ships that shall go to Bencouli for the futured ; and withal, I think it worth the care of the owners or governors of the factory, and that it would tend much to the preservation of their seamens lives, to lay pipes to convey the fountain water to the shore, which might easily be done with a small charge ; and had I staid longer there, I would have undertaken it. I had a desigh also of bringing it into the fort, though much higher, for it would be a great convenience and security to it, in case of a siege.

Besides the badness of our water, it was stowed among the pepper in the hold, which made it very hot. Every morning when we came to take our allowance, it was so hot that a man could scarcely suffer his hands in it, or hold a bottle full of it in his hand. I never any where felt the like, nor could have thought it possible that water should heat to that degree in a ship's hold. It was exceeding black too, and looked more like ink than water. Whether it grew so black with standing, or was tinged with the pepper, I know not, for this water was not so black when it was first taken up. Our food also was very bad ; for the ship had been out of England upon this voyage above three years ; and the salt provision brought from thence, which

we fed on, having been so long in salt, was but ordinary food for sickly men to live upon.

Captain Heath, when he saw the misery of his company, ordered his own tamarinds, of which he had some jars on board, to be given some to each mess, to eat with their rice. This was a great refreshment to the men, and I do believe it contributed much to keep us on our legs.

This distemper was so universal that there was scarce a man in the ship, but what languished under it; yet it stole so insensibly on us, that we could not say we were sick, feeling little or no pain, only a weakness and but little stomach. Nay, most of those who died in this voyage, would hardly be persuaded to keep their cabins, or hammocks, till they could not stir about; and when they were forced to lie down, they made their will, and died in two or three days.

The loss of these men, and the weak languishing condition that the rest of us were in, rendered us incapable to govern our ship, when the wind blew more than ordinary. This often happened when we drew near the cape, and as often put us to our trumps to manage the ship. Captain Heath, to encourage his men to their labour, kept his watch as constantly as any man, tho' sickly himself, and lent a helping hand on all occasions. But at last, almost despairing of gaining his passage to the cape, by reason of the winds coming southerly, and we having now been sailing eight or nine weeks, he called all our men to consult about our safety, and desired every man, from the highest to the lowest, freely to give his real opinion and advice, what to do in this dangerous juncture; for we were not in a condition to keep out long; and could we not get to land quickly, must have perished at sea. He consulted therefore whether it was best to beat
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for the cape, or bear away for Johanna, where we might expect relief, being a place where our outward bound East India ships usually touch, and whose natives are very familiar; but other places especially St. Laurence, or Madagascar, which was nearer, was unknown to us. We were now so near the cape, that with fair wind, we might expect to be there in four or five days; but as the wind was now, we could not hope to get thither. On the other side, this wind was fair to carry us to Johanna; but then Johanna was a great way off, and if the wind should continue as it was, to bring us into a true trade wind, yet we could not get thither under a fortnight; and if we should meet calms, as we might probably expect, it might be much longer. Besides, we should lose our passage about the cape till October or November, this being about the latter end of March, for after the tenth of May 'tis not usual to beat about the cape, to come home. All circumstances therefore being duly considered, we at last unanimously agreed to prosecute our voyage towards the cape, and with patience wait for a shift of wind.

But captain Heath, having thus founded the inclination of his weak men, told them, that it was not enough that they all consented to beat for the cape, for our desires were not sufficient to bring us thither, but that there would need a more than ordinary labour and management from those that were able; and withal, for their encouragement, he promised a months pay gratis, to every man that would engage to assist on all occasions, and be ready upon call, whether it were his watch or not; and this money he promised to pay at the cape. This offer was first embraced by some of the officers, and then as many of the men as found themselves

themselves in a capacity, lifted themselves in a roll, to serve their commander.

This was wisely contrived of the captain, for he could not have compelled them in their weak condition, neither would fair words alone, without some hopes of a reward, have engaged them to so much extraordinary work, for the ship, sails, and rigging were much out of repair. For my part, I was too weak to enter myself in that list, or else our common safety, which I plainly saw, lay at stake, would have prompted me to do more than any such reward would do. In a short time after this, it pleased God to favour us with a fine wind, which being improved to the best advantage by the incessant labour of these new lifted men, brought us in a short time to the Cape.

The night before we entered the harbour, which was about the beginning of April, being near the land, we fired a gun every hour, to give notice that we were in distress. The next day, a Dutch captain came on board in his boat, who seeing us so weak as not to be able to trim our sails to turn into the harbour, though we did tolerably well at sea, before the wind, and being requested by our captain to assist him, sent ashore for a hundred lusty men, who immediately came on board, and brought our ship in to an anchor. They also unbent our sails, and did every thing for us that they were required to do, for which captain Heath gratified them to the full.

These men had better stomachs than we, and eat freely of such food as the ship afforded; and having the freedom of our ship, to go to and fro between decks, made prize of what they could lay their hands on, especially salt beef, which our men, for want of stomachs in the voyage, had hung up six, eight, or ten pieces in a place. This was conveyed
away

away before we knew it, or thought of it; besides, in the night, there was a bale of muslins broke open, and a great deal conveyed away; but whether the muslins were stoln by our own men, or the Dutch, I cannot say; for we had some very dexterous thieves in our ship.

Being thus got safe to an anchor, the sick were presently sent ashore, to quarters provided for them, and those that were able remained on board, and had good fat mutton, or fresh beef sent on board every day. I went ashore also with my painted prince, where I remained with him till the time of sailing again, which was about six weeks. In which time I took the opportunity of informing myself what I could concerning this country, which I shall in this next place give you a brief account of, and so make what haste I can home.

The Cape of Good Hope is the utmost bounds of the continent of Africa towards the south, lying 34 d. 30 m. S. lat. in a very temperate climate. I look upon this latitude to be one of the mildest and sweetest for its temperature, of any whatsoever, and I cannot here but take notice of a common prejudice our European seamen have as to this country, that they look upon it as much colder than places in the same latitude to the north of the line. I am not of their opinion as to that, and their thinking so I believe may be easily accounted for from hence, that whatever way they come to the Cape, whether going to the East Indies or returning back, they pass through a hot climate, and coming to it thus out of an extremity of heat, it is no wonder if it appear the colder to them. Some impute the coldness of the south wind here to its blowing off from sea. On the contrary, I have always observed the sea winds to be warmer than land winds, unless it be when a bloom, as we call it, or hot blast blow
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from thence. Such a one we felt in this very voyage, as we went from the Cape Verd islands, towards the south seas, which I forgot to mention in its proper place. For one afternoon about the 19th of January, 1683, in the lat. of 37 south, we felt a brisk gale coming from off the coast of America, but so violent hot, that we thought it came from some burning mountain on the shore, and was like the heat from the mouth of an oven. Just such another gleam I felt one afternoon also, as I lay at anchor at the Groin in July, 1694, it came with a southerly wind; both these were followed by a thunder shower. These were the only great blooms I ever met with in my travels. But setting these aside, which are exceptions, I have made it my general observation, that the sea winds are a great deal warmer than those which blow from land; unless where the wind blows from the poles, which I take to be the true cause of the coldness of the south wind at the Cape; for it is cold at sea also. And as for the coldness of land winds, as the south west parts of Europe are very sensible of it from the northern and eastern winds, so on the opposite coast of Virginia, they are as much pinched with the north west winds, blowing excessively cold from over the continent; though its latitude be not much greater than this of the Cape.

But to proceed; this large promontory consists of high, and very remarkable land; and off at sea it affords a very pleasant and agreeable prospect. And without doubt the prospect of it was very agreeable to those Portuguese, who first found out this way by sea to the East Indies, when after coasting along the vast continent of Africa, towards the south pole, they had the comfort of seeing the land and their course end in this promontory; which therefore they called the Cape de Bon Esperance, or
of

of Good Hope, finding that they might now proceed eastward.

There is good sounding off this Cape fifty or sixty leagues at sea, to the southward; and therefore our English seamen standing over as they usually do, from the coast of Brazil, content themselves with their soundings, concluding thereby that they are abreast of the Cape, they often pass by without seeing it, and begin to shape their course northward. They have several other signs whereby to know when they are near it, as by the sea-fowl they meet at sea, especially the albatrosses, a very large long winged bird, and the mangovolucres, a smaller fowl. But the greatest dependance of our English seamen now is upon their observing the variation of the compass, which is very carefully minded when they come near the Cape, by taking the sun's amplitude mornings and evenings. This they are so exact in, that by the help of the azimuth compass, an instrument more peculiar to the seamen of our nation, they know when they are abreast of the Cape, or are either to the east or the west of it; and for that reason, though they should be southward of all the soundings, or fathomable ground, they can shape their course right, without being obliged to make the land. But the Dutch, on the contrary, having settled themselves on this promontory, do always touch here in their East India voyages, both going and coming.

The most remarkable land at sea is a high mountain, steep to the sea, with a flat even top, which is called the table land. On the west side of the Cape, a little to the northward of it, there is a spacious harbour, with a low flat island lying off it, which you may leave on either hand, and pass in or out securely at either end. Ships that anchor here, ride near the main land, leaving the island at

a farther distance without them. The land by the sea against the harbour is low, but backed with high mountains a little way in, to the southward of it.

The soil of this country is of a brown colour, not deep, yet indifferently productive of grass, herbs, and trees. The grass is short, like that which grows on our Wiltshire or Dorsetshire downs. The trees hereabouts are but small and few; the country also farther from the sea, does not much abound in trees, as I have been informed. The mould or soil also is much like this near the harbour, which though it cannot be said to be very fat, or rich land, yet it is very fit for cultivation, and yields good crops to the industrious husbandman, and the country is pretty well settled with farms, Dutch families, and French refugees, for twenty or thirty leagues up the country, but there are but few farms near the harbour.

Here grows plenty of wheat, barley, pease, &c. Here are also fruits of many kinds, as apples, pears, quinces, and the largest pomgranats that I did ever see.

The chief fruits are grapes. These thrive very well, and the country is of late years, so well stocked with vineyards, that they make abundance of wine, of which they have enough and to spare, and sell great quantities to ships that touch here. This wine is like a French high country white-wine, but of a pale yellowish colour, it is sweet, very pleasant and strong.

The tame animals of this country are sheep, goats, hogs, cows, horses, &c. The sheep are very large and fat, for they thrive very well here; this being a dry country, the short pasturage is very agreeable to these creatures, but it is not so proper for great cattle, neither is the beef in its kind so
sweet

sweet as the mutton. Of wild beasts, it is said, here are several sorts, but I saw none. However, it is very likely there are some wild beasts, that prey on the sheep, because they are commonly brought into the houses in the night, and penned up.

There is a very beautiful sort of wild ass or zebra in this country, whose body is curiously striped with equal lists of white and black, the stripes coming from the ridge of his back, and ending under the belly, which is white. These stripes are two or three fingers broad, running parallel with each other, and curiously intermixed, one white and one black, over from the shoulder to the rump. I saw two of the skins of these beasts dried and preserved, to be sent to Holland, as a rarity. They seemed big enough to inclose the body of a beast, as big as a large colt of a twelvemonths old.

Here are a great many ducks, dunghill fowls, &c. and ostridges are plentifully found in the dry mountains and plains. I eat of their eggs here, and those of whom I bought them told me that these creatures lay their eggs in the sand, or at least on dry ground, and so leave them to be hatched by the sun. The meat of one of their eggs will suffice two men very well. The inhabitants preserve the eggs that they find to sell to strangers. They were pretty scarce when I was here, in the beginning of their winter, whereas I was told they lay their eggs about Christmas, which is their summer.

The sea hereabouts affords plenty of fish of divers sorts, especially a small sort of fish, not so big as a herring, whereof they have such great plenty that they pickle great quantities yearly, and send them to Europe. Seals are also in great numbers about the Cape, which, as I have still observed, is

a good sign of the plentifulness of fish, which is their food.

The Dutch have a strong fort by the sea side, against the harbour, where the governor lives. At about two or three hundred paces distance from thence, on the west side of the fort, there is a small Dutch town, in which I told about fifty or sixty houses, low, but well built, with stone-walls, there being plenty of stone, drawn out of a quarry close by.

On the backside of the town, as you go towards the mountains, the Dutch East India company have a large house, and a stately garden walled in with a high stone wall.

This garden is full of divers sorts of herbs, flowers, roots, and fruits, with curious spacious gravel-walks and arbors, and is watered with a brook that descends out of the mountains, which being cut into many channels, is conveyed into all parts of the garden. The hedges which make the walks are very thick, and nine or ten feet high; they are kept exceeding neat and even by continual pruning. There are lower hedges within these again, which serve to separate the fruit-trees from each other, but without shading them; and they keep each sort of fruit by themselves, as apples, pears, abundance of quinces, pomgranats, &c. these all prosper very well, and bear good fruit, especially the pomgranat. The roots and garden-herbs have also their distinct places, hedged in a part by themselves, and all in such order, that it is exceeding pleasant and beautiful. There are a great number of negro slaves brought from other parts of the world, some of which are continually weeding, pruning, trimming and looking after it. All strangers are allowed the liberty to walk there; and by the servants leave, you may be admitted to taste of
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the fruit, but if you think to do it clandestinely, you may be mistaken, as I knew one was when I was in the garden, who took five or six pomgranats, and was espied by one of the slaves, and threatned to be carried before the governor; I believe it cost him some money to make his peace, for I heard no more of it. Further up from the sea, beyond the garden, towards the mountains, there are several other small gardens and vineyards, belonging to private men; but the mountains are so high, that the number of them are but small.

The Dutch that live in the town get considerably by the ships that frequently touch here, chiefly by entertaining strangers that come ashore to refresh themselves; for you must give three shillings or a dollar a day for your entertainment, the bread and flesh is as cheap here as in England; besides they buy good pennyworths of the seamen, both outwards and homewards bound, which the farmers up the country buy of them again at a dear rate, for they have not an opportunity of buying things at the best hand, but must buy of those that live at the harbour; the nearest settlements, as I was informed, being twenty miles off.

Notwithstanding the great plenty of corn and wine, yet the extraordinary high taxes which the company lays on liquor, makes it very dear; and you can buy none but at the tavern, except it be by stealth. There are but three houses in the town that sell strong liquor, one of which is the wine-house or tavern, there they sell only wine, another sells beer and mum, and the third sells brandy and tobacco, all extraordinary dear. A flask of wine which holds three quarts will cost eighteen stivers, for so much I paid for it, yet I bought as much for eight stivers in another place, but it was privately, at an unlicensed house, and the person that sold

it, would have been ruined had it been known; and thus much for the country, and the European inhabitants.

C H A P. XXXVI.

Of the natural inhabitants of the Cape of Good Hope, the Hodmodods or Hottentots; their manners, customs, &c.

THE natural inhabitants of the cape are the Hodmodods, as they are commonly called, which is a corruption of the word Hottentot; for this is the name by which they call to one another, either in their dances, or on any occasion, as if every one of them had this for his name. The word probably hath some signification or other in their language, whatever it is.

These Hottentots are people of a middle stature, with small limbs and thin bodies, full of activity. Their faces are of a flat oval figure, of the negro make, with great eye brows, and black eyes; but neither are their noses so flat, nor their lips so thick, as the negroes of Guinea. Their complexion is darker than the common Indians, tho' not so black as the negroes or New Hallanders, neither is their hair so much frizled.

They besmear themselves all over with grease, as well to keep their joints supple, as to fence their half naked bodies from the air, by stopping up their pores. To do this the more effectually, they rub soot over the greased parts, especially their faces, which adds to their natural beauty, as painting does in Europe; but withal sends from them a strong smell, which though sufficiently pleasing to themselves is very unpleasant to others. They are glad of the worst of kitchen-stuff for this purpose, and use it as often as they can get it.

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This custom of anointing the body is very common in other parts of Africa, especially on the coast of Guinea, where they generally use palm-oil, anointing themselves from head to foot ; but when they want oil, they make use of kitchen-stuff, which they buy of the Europeans, that trade with them. In the East Indies also, especially on the coast of Cudda and Malacca, and in general on almost all the easterly islands, as well on Sumatra, Java, &c. as on the Phillippine and spice islands, the Indian inhabitants anoint themselves with cocoa nut oil, two or three times a day, especially mornings and evenings. They spend sometimes half an hour in chafing the oil, and rubbing it into their hair and skin, leaving no place unsmeared with oil, but their face, which they daub not, like these Hottentots. The Americans also in some places use this custom, but not so frequently, perhaps for want of oil and grease to do it. Yet some American Indians in the North Seas, frequently daub themselves with a pigment made with leaves, roots, or herbs, or with a sort of red earth, giving their skins a yellow, red, or green colour, according as the pigment is ; and these smell unfavorably enough to people not accustomed to them ; tho' not so rank as those who use oil or grease.

The Hottentots wear no covering on their heads, but deck their hair with small shells. Their garments are sheep skins wrapp'd about their shoulders like a mantle, with the woolly side next their bodies. The men have besides this mantle, a piece of skin like a small apron, hanging before them. The women have another skin tucked about their waists, which comes down to their knees like a peticoat ; and their legs are wrapp'd round with sheep guts two or three inches thick, some up as high as to their calves, others even from their feet

to their knees, which at a small distance seem to be a sort of boots. These are put on when they are green, and so they grow hard and stiff on their legs, for they never pull them off again, till they have occasion to eat them, which is when they journey from home, and have no other food; then these guts which they have worn, it may be, six, eight, ten, or twelve months, make them a good banquet: this I was informed of by the Dutch. They never pull off their sheep skin garments, but to louse themselves, for by continual wearing them they are full of vermin, which obliges them often to strip and sit in the sun two or three hours together in the heat of the day to destroy them. Indeed most Indians that live remote from the equator, are molested with lice, tho' their garments afford less shelter for them than these Hottentots sheep skins do. For all those Indians who live in cold countries, as in the north and south parts of America, have some sort of skin or other to cover their bodies, as deer, otter, beaver or seals skins, all which they as constantly wear, without shifting themselves, as these Hottentots do their sheep skins. And hence they are lowly too, and strong scented, though they do not daub themselves at all, or but very little; for even by reason of their skins they smell strong.

The Hottentots houses are the meanest that I ever saw. They are about nine or ten feet high, and ten or twelve from side to side. They are in a manner round made with small poles stuck into the ground, and brought together at the top, where they are fastened. The sides and tops of the houses are filled up with boughs coursely watted between the poles, and all is covered over with long grass, rushes, and pieces of hides; and the house at a distance appears just like a hay cock. They leave only a small hole on one side about three or four feet

feet high, for a door to creep in and out at ; but when the wind comes in at this door, they stop it up, and make another hole in the opposite side. They make the fire in the middle of the house, and the smoak ascends out of the crannies, from all parts of the house. They have no beds to lie on, but tumble down at night round the fire.

Their Household furniture is commonly an earthen pot or two to boil victuals, and they live very miserably and hard ; it is reported that they will fast two or three days together, when they travel about the country.

Their common food is either herbs, flesh, or shell-fish, which they get among the rocks, or other places at low water ; for they have no boats, barklogs, nor canoes to go a fishing in ; so that their chief subsistence is on land animals, or on such herbs as the land naturally produceth. I was told by my Dutch landlord, that they kept sheep and bullocks here before the Dutch settled among them ; and that the inland Hottentots have still great flocks of cattle, and sell them to the Dutch for rolls of tobacco ; and that the price for which they sell a cow or sheep, was as much twisted tobacco, as will reach from the horns or head to the tail ; for they are great lovers of tobacco, and will do any thing for it. This their way of trucking was confirmed to me by many others, who yet said that they could not buy their beef this cheap way, for they had not the liberty to deal with the Hottentots, that being a privilege which the Dutch East India company reserve to themselves. My landlord having a great many lodgers, fed us most with mutton, some of which he bought of a butcher, for there is but one in the town ; but most of it he killed in the night, the sheep being brought privately by the Hottentots, who assist in skinning

and dressing, and had the skin and guts for their pains. I judge these sheep were fetched out of the country, a good way off, for he himself would be absent a day or two to procure them, and two or three Hottentots with him. These of the Hottentots, that live by the Dutch town, have their greatest subsistence from the Dutch, for there is one or more of them belonging to every house. These do all sorts of servile work, and there take their food and grease. Three or four more of their nearest relations sit at the doors or near the Dutch house, waiting for the scraps and fragments that come from the table; and if between meals the Dutch people have any occasion for them to go on errands, or the like, they are ready at command; expecting little for their pains; but for a stranger they will not budge under a stiver.

Their religion, if they have any, is wholly unknown to me; for they have no temple nor idol, nor any place of worship that I saw or heard of. Yet their mirth and nocturnal pastimes at the new and full of the moon, look'd as if they had some superstition about it. For at the full especially they sing and dance all night, making a great noise: I walked out to their huts twice at these times, in the evening, when the moon arose above the horizon, and viewed them for an hour or more. They seem all very busy, both men, women and children, dancing very oddly on the grass by their houses. They traced too and fro' promiscuously, often clapping their hands and singing aloud. Their faces were sometimes to the east, sometimes to the west; neither did I see any motion or gesture that they used when their faces were towards the moon, more than when their backs were towards it. After I had thus observed them for a while, I returned to my lodging, which was not above two or three hundred

dred paces from their huts; and I heard them singing in the same manner all night. In the grey of the morning I walked out again, and found many of the men and women still singing and dancing; who continued their mirth till the moon went down, and then they left off; some going into their huts to sleep, and others to their attendance in their Dutch houses. Other negros are less circumspect in their night-dances, as to the precise time of the full moon, they being more general in their nocturnal pastimes, and use them oftener; as do many people in the East and West Indies; yet there is a difference between the colder and warmer climates as to their divertisement. The warmer climates being generally productive of very delicate fruits, &c. and these uncivilized people caring for little else than what is barely necessary; they spend the greatest part of their time in diverting themselves after their several fashions; but the Indians of colder climates are not so much at leisure, the fruits of the earth being scarce, and they necessitated to be continually fishing, hunting, or fowling for their subsistence; not as with us for recreation.

As for the Hottentots, they are a very lazy sort of people, and tho' they live in a very delicate country, very fit to be manured, and where there is land enough for them, yet they chuse rather to live as their fore-fathers, poor and miserable, than be at pains for plenty. And so much for the Hottentots: I shall now return to our own affairs.

Upon our arrival at the cape, captain Heath took an house to live in, in order to recover his health. Such of his men as were able did so too, for the rest he provided lodgings and paid their expences. Three or four of our men, who came ashore very sick, died, but the rest, by the assistance of the doctors of the fort, a fine air, and good

kitchen and cellar physick, soon recovered their healths. Those that subscribed to be at all calls, and assisted to bring in the ship, received captain Heath's bounty, by which they furnished themselves with liquor for their homeward voyage. But we were now so few, that we could not sail the ship; therefore captain Heath desired the governor to spare him some men; and as I was informed, had a promise to be supplied out of the homeward bound Dutch East India ships, that were now expected every day, and we waited for them. In the mean time in came the James and Mary, and the Josiah of London, bound home. Out of these we thought to have been furnished with men; but they had only enough for themselves; therefore we waited yet longer for the Dutch fleet, which at last arrived; but we could get no men from them.

Captain Heath was therefore forced to get men by stealth, such as he could pick up, whether soldiers or seamen. The Dutch knew our want of men, therefore near forty of them, those that had a design to return to Europe, came privately and offered themselves, and waited in the night at places appointed, where our boats went and fetched three or four on board at a time, and hid them, especially when any Dutch boat came on board our ship. Here at the cape I met my friend Daniel Wallis, the same who leap'd into the sea and swam at Pulo Condore. After several traverses to Madagascar, Don Mascarim, Pondicherry, Pegu, Cunnimere, Maderas, and the river of Hugli, he was now got hither in a homeward bound Dutch ship. I soon persuaded him to come over to us, and found means to get him on board our ship.

The following short description of Natal, a part of Africa, on the north east side of the Cape, that is not well known to Europeans, I received from my

my ingenious friend captain Rogers, who has been there several times, I have therefore annexed it as I thought it would not be unacceptable to the curious reader.

The country of Natal takes up about 3 d. and a half of latitude from north to south, lying between the lat. of 31 d. 30.m. south and 28 south. It is bounded on the south by a country inhabited by a small nation of savage people, called by our English wild-bush-men; that live in caves and in holes of rocks, and have no other houses, but such as are formed by nature: they are of a low stature, tawny coloured, with crisped hair, they are accounted very cruel to their enemies. Their weapons are bows and poisoned arrows. These people have for their neighbours on the south the Hottentots. Delagoa is a navigable river, in lat. 28 south, that bounds Natal on the north. The inhabitants of this river have a commerce with the Portuguese of Mozambique, who oft visit them in small barks, and trade there for elephants teeth, of which they have great plenty. Some English too have lately been there to purchase teeth, particularly captain Freak, who after he had been in the river of Delagoa, and purchased eight or ten tun of teeth, lost his ship on a rock near Madagascar. The country of Natal lies open to the Indian sea on the east, but how far back it runs to the westward is not yet known.

That part of the country which borders on the sea is plain champaign and woody, but within land it appears uneven, by reason of many hills which rise in unequal heights above each other. Yet it is varied with pleasant vallies and large plains, and it is checkered with natural groves and savannahs. Neither is there any want of water, for every hill affords little brooks, which glide several ways, some
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of which, after several turnings and windings, meet by degrees and make up the river of Natal, which dischargeth itself into the East Indian ocean in the lat. of 30 d. south. There it opens pretty wide, and is deep enough for small vessels. But at the mouth of the river is a bar which has not above ten or eleven feet water on it in a spring tide; though within there is water enough. This river is the principal of the country of Natal, and has been lately frequented by some of our English ships; particularly by a small vessel that captain Rogers, formerly mentioned, commanded.

There are also other streams and rivers, which bend their courses northerly, especially one of a considerable bigness about one hundred miles within land, and which runs due north.

The woods are composed of divers sorts of trees, many of which are very good timber, and fit for any uses, being tall and large. The savannahs also are cloathed with kindly thick grass.

The land-animals of this country are lions, tigers, elephants, buffaloes, bullocks, deer, hogs, conies, &c. Here are also abundance of sea-horses.

Buffaloes and bullocks only are kept tame, but the rest are all wild.

Elephants are so plenty here that they feed together in great troops, one thousand or fifteen hundred in a company, mornings and evenings they are seen grazing in the savannah, but in the heat of the day, they retire into the woods, and are very peaceable if not molested.

Deer are very numerous here also. They feed quietly in the savannahs among the tame cattle, for they are seldom disturbed by the natives.

Here are fowls of divers sorts, some such as we have in England, viz. duck and teal, both tame
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and wild; and plenty of cocks and hens. Besides abundance of wild birds, wholly unknown to us.

Here are a sort of wild fowls as big as a peacock, which have many fine coloured feathers, but they are very rare and shy.

There are others like curlews, but bigger. The flesh of these is black, yet sweet and wholesome meat.

The sea and rivers also abound in fish of divers sorts, yet the natives do but seldom endeavour to take any, except tortoises, and that is chiefly when they come ashore in the night to lay their eggs. Though they have also another very odd way, which they sometimes make use of to catch turtle or tortoises. They take a living sucking fish or remora, and fastning a couple of strings to it, (one at the head and the other at the tail,) they let the sucking fish down into the water on the turtle ground, among half-grown or young turtle; and when they find that the fish hath fastned himself to the back of a turtle, as he will soon do, they then draw him and the turtle up together. This way of fishing (as I have heard) is also used at Madagascar.

The natives of this country are but of a middle stature, yet have very good limbs; the colour of their skins is black, their hair crisped, their noses neither flat nor high, but very well proportioned; their teeth are white, and their aspect is altogether graceful.

They are nimble people, but very lazy, which probably is for want of commerce. Their chief employment is husbandry. They have a great many bulls and cows, which they carefully look after, for every man knows his own, though they run all promiscuously together in the savannahs, yet they have pens near their own houses, where they make them gentle, and bring them to the pail. They
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also plant corn and fence in their fields to keep out all cattle as well tame as wild. They have Guinea corn, which is their bread, and a small sort of grain no bigger than mustard-seed, with which they make their drink.

Here are no arts nor trades professed among them, but every one makes for himself such necessities, as need or ornament requires, the men keeping to their employment and the women to theirs.

The men build houses, hunt, plant, and do what is to be done abroad. And the women milk the cows, dress the victuals, &c. and manage all matters within doors. Their houses are not great nor richly furnished, but they are made close and well thatched, that neither winds nor weather can hurt them.

They wear but few cloths, and those extraordinary mean. The men go in a manner naked, their common garb being only a square piece of cloth made with silk grass or moho rind, and wrought in form of a short apron. At the upper corners it has two straps to tie round their waists, and the lower end being finely fringed with the same, hangs down to their knees.

They have caps made with beef tallow of about nine or ten inches high. They are a great while a making these caps; for the tallow must be made very pure, before it is fit for this use. Besides they lay on but little at a time, and mix it finely among the hair, and so it never afterwards comes off their heads. When they go a hunting, which is but seldom, they pare off three or four inches from the top of it, that so it may fit the snigger, but the next day they begin to build it up again, and so every day till it is of a decent and fashionable height.

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It would be a most ridiculous thing for a man here to be seen without a tallow cap. But boys are not suffered to wear any, till they come to maturity, and then they begin to build upon their heads. The women have only short petticoats which reach from the waist to the knee. When it rains they cover their bodies with a simple cow's hide, thrown over their shoulders like a blanket.

The common subsistence of these people is bread made of Guinea corn, beef, fish, milk, ducks, hens, eggs, &c. They also drink milk often to quench their thirst; and this sometimes when it is sweet, but commonly they let it be fower first.

Besides milk, which is the common drink, they make a better sort of the same grain before-mentioned, purposely to be merry with. And when they meet on such occasions, the men make themselves extraordinary fine, with feathers stuck into their caps very thick. They make use of the long feathers of cocks tails, and none else.

Besides these head ornaments, they wear a piece of cow hide, made like a tail, and it is fastned behind them as a tail, reaching from their waist to the ground. This piece of hide is about six inches broad, and each side of it is adorned with little iron rings of their own making.

When they are thus attired, their heads a little intoxicated, and the music playing, they'll skip about merrily, and shake their tails to some purpose, but are very innocent in their mirth.

Every man may have as many wives as he can purchase and maintain; and without buying here are none to be had, neither is there any other commodity to be bought or sold but women.

Young virgins are disposed of by their fathers, brothers, or nearest male relations. The price is according to the beauty of the damsel.

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They have no money in this country, but give cows in exchange for wives; and therefore he is the richest man that has most daughters or sisters; for to be sure he will get cattle enough.

They make merry when they take their wives, but the bride cries all her wedding-day. They live together in small villages, and the oldest man governs the rest, for all that live together in one village are a kin, and therefore willingly submit to his government.

They are very just, and extraordinary civil to strangers, this was remarkably experienced by two English seamen that lived among them five years, their ship was cast away on the coast, and the rest of their comforts marched to the river of Delagoa, but they staid here till captain Rogers accidentally came hither and took them away with him: they had gained the language of the country; and the natives freely gave them wives and cows too. They were beloved by all the people; and so much revered, that their words were taken as laws. And when they came away, many of the boys cried because they would not take them with them.

About the 23d of May we sailed from the Cape, in the company of the *James* and *Mary*, and the *Josiah*, directing our course towards the island *Santa Hellena*. We met nothing of remark in this voyage, except a great swelling sea, out of the south west, which taking us on the broad side, made us roll sufficiently. Such of our water-casks as were between decks, rolling from side to side, were in a short time all staved, and the deck well washed with the fresh water. The shot tumbled out of the lockers and garlands, and rung a loud peal, rumbling from side to side, every roll that the ship made; neither was it an easy matter to re-duce

duce them again within bounds. The guns being carefully looked after and lash'd fast, never budged, but the tackles or pulleys, and lashings made great music. The sudden and violent motion of the ship, made us fearful lest some of the guns should have broken loose, which must have been very detrimental to the ships sides. The masts were also in great danger to be rolled by the board; but no harm happened to any of us besides the loss of three or four butts of water, and a barrel or two of good Cape wine, which was staved in the great cabin.

This great tumbling sea, took us shortly after we came from the Cape. The violence of it lasted but one night; yet we had a continual swelling out of the south west, almost during all the passage to Santa Hellena, which was an eminent token that the south west winds were now violent in the higher latitudes towards the south pole; for this was the time of the year for those winds. Notwithstanding this boisterous sea coming thus obliquely upon us, we had fine clear weather, and a moderate gale at south east, or between that and the east, till we came to the island Santa Hellena, where we arrived the 20th day of June. There we found the Princess Ann at an anchor, waiting for us.

The island Santa Hellena lies in about sixteen degrees south latitude. The air is commonly serene and clear, except in the months that yield rain; yet we had one or two very rainy days, even while we were here. Here are moist seasons to plant and sow, and the weather is temperate enough as to heat, though so near the equator, and very healthy.

The island is but small, not above nine or ten leagues in length, and stands three or four hundred leagues from the main land. It is bounded against the sea with steep rocks, so that there is no landing
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but at two or three places. The land is high and mountainous, and seems to be very dry and poor, yet there are fine valleys, proper for cultivation. The mountains appear bare, only in some places you may see a few low shrubs, but the valleys afford some trees fit for building, as I was informed.

This island is said to have been first discovered and settled by the Portuguese, who stocked it with goats and hogs. But it being afterwards deserted by them, it lay waste, till the Dutch finding it convenient to relieve their E. India ships, settled it again, but they afterwards relinquished it for a more convenient place, I mean the Cape of Good Hope. Then the English East India company settled their servants there, and began to fortify it, but they being yet weak, the Dutch about the year 1672 came thither, and re-took it, and kept it in their possession. This news being reported in England, captain Monday was sent to re-take it, who by the advice and conduct of one that had formerly lived there, landed a party of armed men in the night in a small cove, unknown to the Dutch then in gar-rison, and climbing the rocks, got up into the island, and so came in the morning to the hills hanging over the fort, which stands by the sea in a small valley. From thence firing into the fort, they soon made them surrender. There were at this time two or three Dutch East India ships, either at anchor, or coming thither, when our ships were there. These, when they saw that the English were masters of the island again, made sail to be gone, but being chased by the English frigates, two of them became rich prizes to captain Monday and his men.

The island hath continued ever since in the hands of the English East India company, and hath been greatly

greatly strengthened both with men and guns ; so that at this day it is secure enough from the invasion of any enemy. For the common landing place is a small bay, like a half moon, scarce 500 paces wide, between the two points, close by the sea side are good guns planted at equal distances, lying along from one end of the bay to the other : besides a small fort, a little further in from the sea, near the midst of the bay. All which makes this bay so strong, that it is impossible to force it. The small cove where captain Monday landed his men when he took the island from the Dutch, is scarce fit for a boat to land at; and that is now also fortified.

There is a small English town within the great bay, standing in a little valley, between two high steep mountains. There may be about twenty or thirty small houses, whose walls are built with rough stones: the inside furniture is very mean. The governor hath a pretty tolerable handsome low house, by the fort; where he commonly lives, having a few soldiers to attend him, and to guard the fort. But the houses in the town before-mentionod stand empty, save only when ships arrive here; for their owners have all plantations farther in the island, where they constantly employ themselves. But when ships arrive, they all flock to the town, where they live all the time that the ships lie here; for then is the fair or market, to buy such necessaries as they want, and to sell off the produce of their plantations.

Their plantations afford potatoes, yams, and some plantains and bonanoes. Their stock consists chiefly of hogs, bullocks, cocks and hens, ducks, geese, and turkeys, of which they have great plenty, and sell them at a low rate to the sailors, taking in exchange, shirts, drawers, or any light cloaths; pieces of callico, silks, or muslins: arack, sugar, and lime-juice, is also much esteemed and coveted by them. But now they are in hopes to produce wine and brandy, in a short time; for they do already begin to plant vines for that end, there being a few Frenchmen there to manage that affair. This I was told but I saw nothing of it, for it rained so hard when I was ashore, that I had not the opportunity of seeing their plantations. I was also informed, that they get manatee or sea-cows here, which seemed very strange to me. Therefore enquiring more strictly into

the matter, I found the Santa Hellena manatee to be, by their shapes, and manner of lying ashore on the rocks, those creatures called sea-lions; for the manatee never come ashore, neither are they found near any rocky shores, as this island is, there being no feeding for them in such places. Besides, in this island there is no river for them to drink at, though there is a small brook runs into the sea, out of the valley by the fort.

We stayed here five or six days, all which time the Islanders lived at the town, to entertain the seamen; who constantly flockt ashore, to enjoy themselves among their country people. Our touching at the cape had greatly drained the seamen of their loose corns, at which these islanders has greatly repined; and some of the poorer fort openly complained against such doings, saying, it was fit that the East India company should be acquainted with it, that they might hinder their ships from touching at the cape. Yet they were extreemly kind, in hopes to get what was remaining. They are most of them very poor: but such as could get a little liquor to sell to the seamen at this time got what the seamen could spare; for the punch-houses were never empty. But had we all come directly hither, and not touched at the cape, even the poorest people among them would have gotten something by entertaining sick men. For commonly the seamen coming home, are troubled, more or less, with scorbutick distempers; and their only hopes are to get refreshment and health at this island, and these hopes seldom or never fail them, if once they get footing here. For the islands afford abundance of delicate herbs, wherewith the sick are first bathed to supple their joints, and then the fruits and herbs, and fresh food soon after cure them of their scorbutick humour. So that in a week's time, men that have been carried ashore in their hammocks, wholly unable to walk, have soon been able to leap and dance. Doubtless the serenity and wholesomeness of the air contributes much to the carrying off of these feeble distempers; for here is constantly a fresh breeze. While we stayed here, many of the seamen got sweethearts. One young man belonging to the James and Mary, was married, and brought his wife to England with him. Another brought his sweetheart to England, they being each engaged by bonds

bonds to marry at their arrival in England; and several other of our Men were over head an ears in love with the Santa Hellena maids, who tho they were born there, yet very earnestly desired to be released from that prison, which they have no other way to compass, but by marrying seamen, or passengers that touch here. The young women born here, are but one remove from English, being daughters of such. They are well shaped, proper and comely, were they in a dress to set them off.

My stay ashore here was but two days, to get refreshments for myself and Jeoly, whom I carried ashore with me: and he was very diligent to pick up such things as the island afforded, carrying ashore with him a bag which the people of the isle filled with roots for him. They flockt about him, and seemed to admire him much. This was the last place where I had him at my own disposal, for the mate of the ship, who had Mr. Moodie's share in him, left him entirely to my management, to bring him to England. But I was no sooner arrived in the Thames, but he was sent ashore to be seen by some eminent persons; and I being in want of money, was prevailed upon to sell first, part of my share in him, and by degrees all of it. After this I heard he was carried about to be shewn as a sight, and that he died of the small-pox at Oxford.

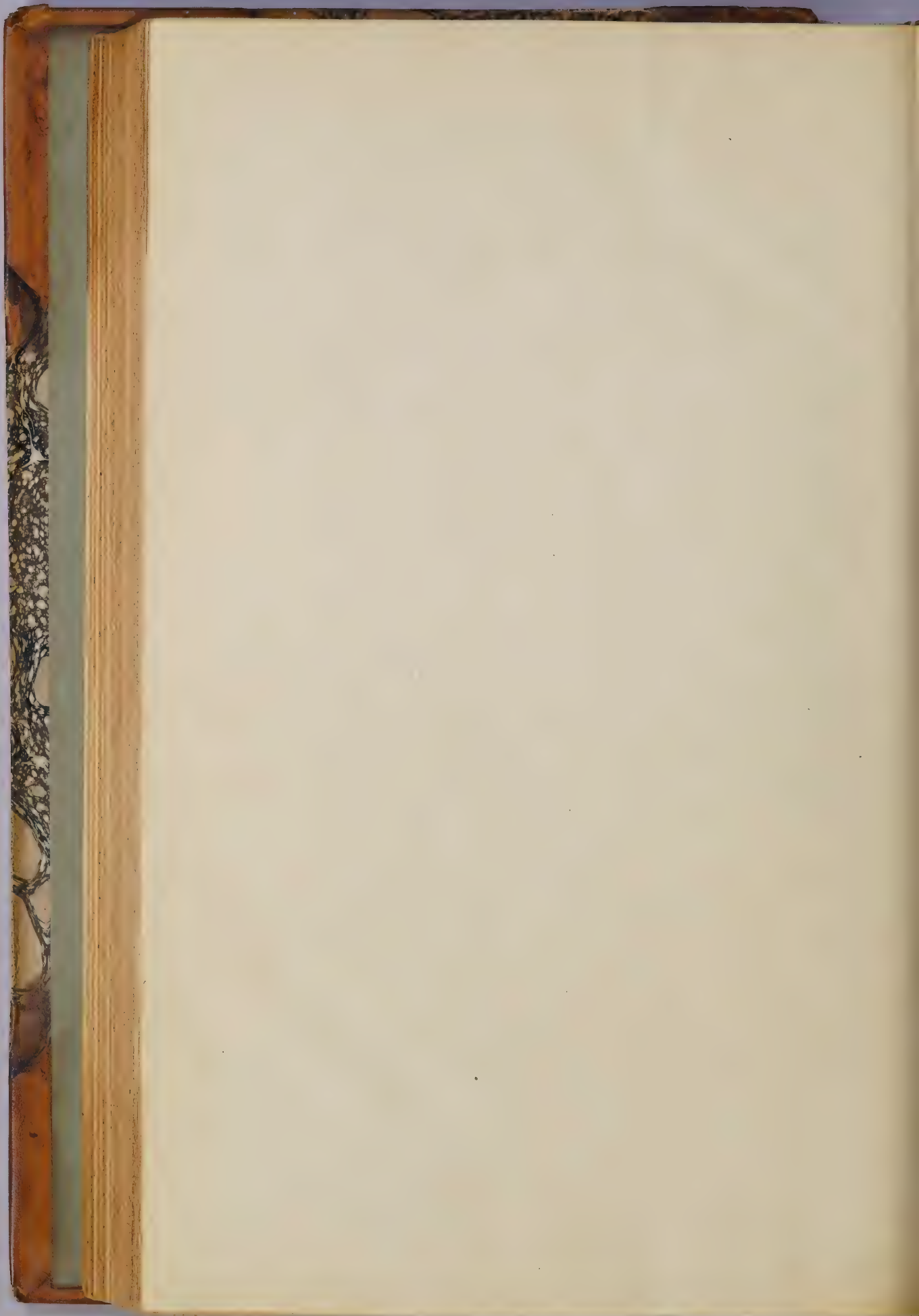
But to proceed, our water being filled, and the ships all stocked with fresh provisions, we sailed from hence in company of the Princess Ann, the James and Mary, and the Josiah, July 2d, 1691, directing our course towards England, and designing to touch no where by the way. We were now in the way of the trade winds, which we commonly find at E. S. E. or S. E. by E. or S. E. till we draw near the line, and sometimes till we are eight or ten degrees to the north of the line. For which reason ships might shape their course so, as to keep on the African shore, and pass between cape Verd and cape Verd islands; for that seems to be the directest course to England. But experience often shews us, that the farthest way about is the nearest way home, and so it is here. For by striving to keep near the African shore, you meet with the winds more uncertain, and subject to calms; whereas in keeping the mid way between Africa and America, or rather nearer the American continent,

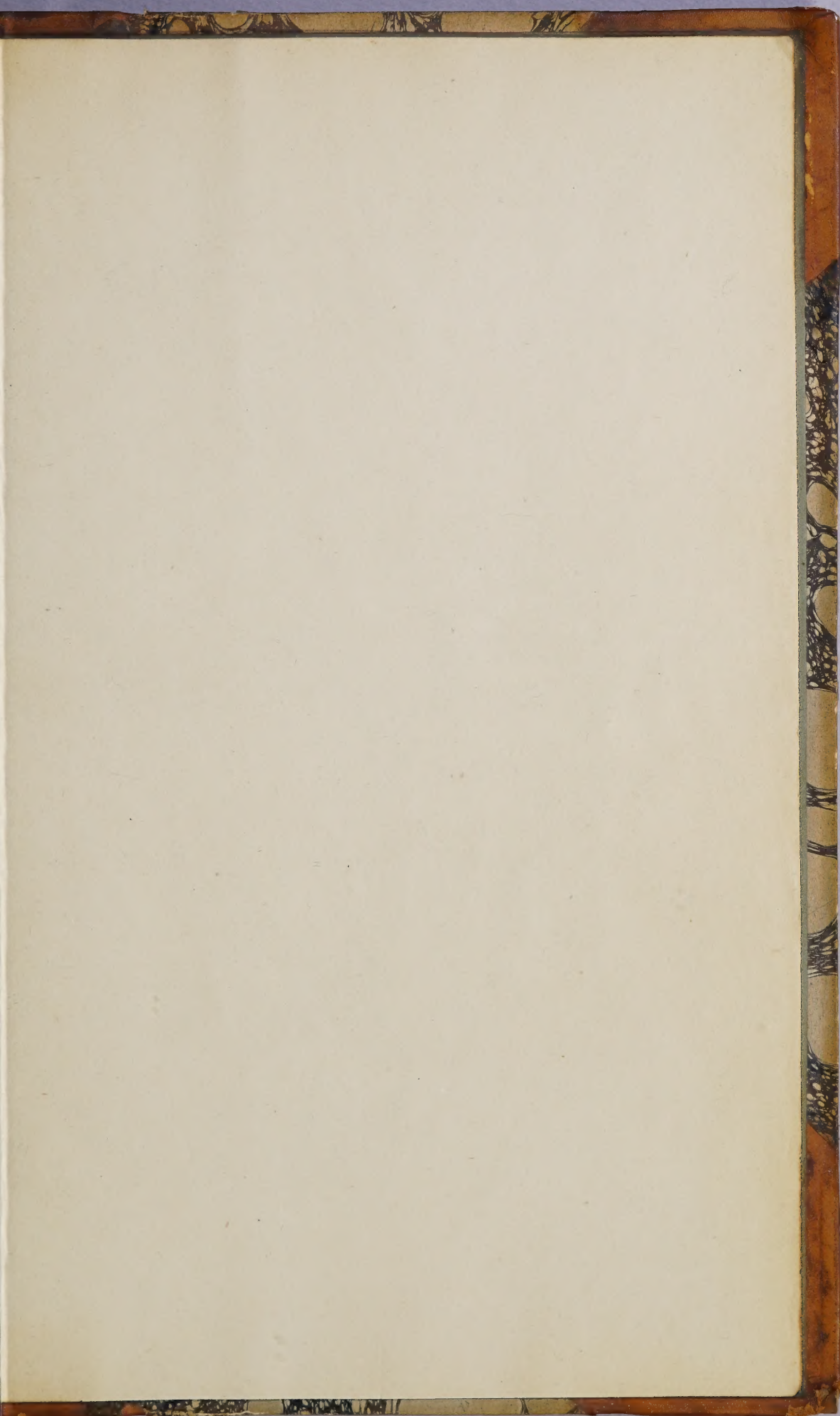
till you are north of the line, you have a brisk constant gale.

This was the way that we took, and in our passage before we got to the line, we saw three ships, and making towards them, we found two of them to be Portuguese, bound to Brazil. The third kept on a wind, so that we could not speak with her; but we found by the Portuguese it was an English ship, called the Dorothy, capt. Thwart commander, bound to the East Indies. After this we kept company still with our three consorts, till we came near England, and then were separated by bad weather; but before we came within sight of land we got together again, all but the James and Mary. She got into the channel before us, and went to Plymouth, and there gave an account of the rest of us; whereupon our men of war who lay there, came out to join us, and meeting us, brought us off of Plymouth. There our consort the James and Mary came to us again, and from thence we all sailed in company of several men of war towards Portsmouth. There our first convoy left us, and went in thither. But we did not want convoys, for our fleets were then repairing to their winter harbours, to be laid up; so that we had the company of several English ships to the Downs, and a squadron also of Dutch sailed up the channel, but kept off farther from our English coast, being bound home to Holland. When we came as high as the South Foreland, we left them standing on their course, keeping on the back of the Goodwin Sands; and we lust in for the Downs, where we anchored September 16th, 1691.

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